

A B R I E F
HISTORY
OF THE
TIMES, &c.

PART. III.

Treating of the DEATH
O F
Sir E. B. Godfrey.

By Sir Roger *L'Estrange* K^t.

L O N D O N,

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THE HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF THE
LORD OF THE

TO

POSTERITY.

THESE will be a Time when Posterity shall be
Blessed, and the Wishes of a just
and the World never the more upon the winding
Hand, without perishing. For it is Man's
Course, in the Reason and Flux of Humane Af-
fairs, for the Next Age to do that Right to
the Former, which the Power could not do to it
itself. 'Tis a Rare Felicity of the Times (says Ju-
venal) when the Present State of Things will seem
a True History. But so it is however, that One
Generation finds Argument and Entertainment for
Another; And whether the Subject be Good or
Bad; or the succeeding Age Better or Worse Things
will be never the less Agreeable in the story, for
being Execrable in the Practice. For the Popular
Taste of Good or Evil, is Swift, or Slow; and it
is only Interest that supports the Reputation of
Wickedness, and Quickens the Veneration that is
due to Virtue.



T O

POSTERITY.

THERE *will be a Time when Truth shall be Believ'd, and the Witnesses of it Justify'd; and the World never the more upon the mending Hand, neither perhaps. For it is Matter of Course, in the Reason and Flux of Humane Affairs, for the Next Age to do That Right to the Former, which the Former could Not do to it self. 'Tis a Rare Felicity of the Times (says Tacitus) when the Present State of Things will bear a True History. But so it is however, that One Generation finds Argument and Entertainment for Another; And whether the Subject be Good or Bad; or the Succeeding Age, Better or Worse, Things will be never the less Agreeable in the Story, for being Execrable in the Practice. For the Popular Test of Good or Evil, is Profit, or Loss; and it is only Interest that supports the Reputation of Wickedness, and Quenches the Veneration that is due to Virtue.*

A 2

So

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So that in saying *There will be such a Time, &c.* and in *Appealing* from the *Envy* of the *Present*, to the *Impartial Justice* of the *Times to come*, I do not take upon me to speak with the *Spirit* of a *Prophet*; (as if I *Fore-told* Things *Hard* to be *Fore-known*.) Neither do I reckon that I put any *Complement* upon *Posterity*, in *Transmitting* my *Cause*, and my *Papers* into *Their Hands*. My *Business* is only to *Place Truth* in a *Proper Light*, and to take the best *Care* I can, that *After-times* may be the *Wiser* for *Our Follies*; the *Honest* for our *Impostures*; and that the *Infamy* of the *Present Age*, may not pass for *History* in the *Next*.

This Tract is Intended for a *Third Part*, in Continuation of what I have already Publish'd in *Two Other Parts*, under the Title of [*A Brief History of the Times, &c.*] In the *First Part*, I have layd open the *Scheme* and *Manage* of the *Late Conspiracy*, upon the *Credit* of the *Conspirators Proper Acts* and *Records*. In the *Second*, I have Endeavour'd to give the *World* a *True Account* of the *Rise*, *Progress*, and *Conduct* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*. And to shew, not so much what it was *Not*, as what it *Was*; which will make the *Story* appear quite *Another Thing* than all this while it has been taken to be.

The

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The Third Part that I am now entring upon, is a kind of Historical Review upon the Matters of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. If he was Murthered at Somerset-House, as Bedloe and Prance swear he was, the Jesuits and their Fellows are certainly the Damnedst Fools upon the Face of the Earth: But if That story was utterly Impossible to be true, the Lord open the Eyes of the Blind, and be merciful to the Souls of those that all this while have swallow'd All These Shams for Gospel.

For the sake of Good Method, I have Subdivided this Third Part into Two Other Parts, within it self. The Former Treats of the Somerset-House Invention, with the Circumstances of Time, Place, Manner, Persons; And so goes on with the Jaunt from the Stable-Rayles to Primrose-Hill; Comparing and Examining Depositions, Journals, and Publique Entries; till, in the End, it appears upon Demonstration as Infallible as Truth it self, that a Man might as well take upon him to bring Heaven and Hell to shake Hands, as to Reconcile Prance and Bedloe, One to Another; or Either of them to the Bare Possibility of a Consistence with Himself.

It follows now, in the Second Part, since Sir Edmund was Not Murther'd so and so, at Somerset-House, in such or such a Place; by such and such Hands; or for this or that Reason, according to the Witnesses Report, to Enquire how?

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When? Where? Why? By Whom? Or, in fine, By what Disaster he was brought to his End? Upon the Whole, I have no more to say, then to desire the Reader, in the Awe of God, and of his Conscience, to Ask, and to Resolve All these fore-going Questions within Himself.

There are Three Points of very Great Importance, that I have here made the Argument of These Three Treatises; of Great Importance, I say, in the Subject-matter of them; In the Credit they have found in the World: In the Countenance that has been Given them: In the Miserable Consequences that they have Already brought upon the Honour and Peace of the Government, even to the Scandal of Religion it self, and of the English Nation. And of Great Importance else in the Further Operation of These Impostures upon the Generations that are yet to come; in Transmitting an Everlasting Infamy upon so many Noble Families and Persons, as have been falsely Accused for this Pretended Conspiracy: And no way to Encounter the Scandal, but by taking the Masque off in Time, and bringing the Naked Truth of this Jugling History into a Clearer Light.

Such as it is, I am now about to Deliver a Third Part of it over into the World; partly upon an Impulse of Conscience and Duty; and partly as I am a Friend to Plain-Dealing and Common Justice. But I know very well, that Good Dispositions are of Little or no Effect, without

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out *Necessary Powers and Authorities*, for the putting of them in *Exercise*. Upon this Consideration, before I ever advanc'd One Step or Syllable upon This *Design*, I made it my Humble Suit to his Late Blessed Majesty, that he would give me *Leave and Commission*, to make a *Warrantable Enquiry* into the *Forgeries* of *Otes*; and to try if I could fairly bring him to *Justice* for his *Perjuries*. His Majesty was hereupon pleased to Grant me an *Order* for the *Examining* of *Witnesses*, and *Comparing* *Evidences*; and the Matter succeeded according to the *Wish* of every *Honest Man* in the *Three Kingdoms*.

So soon as I found that *Otes* was Fast in the *Toyl*; it was but Reason Methought, for *Prance* to take His *Turn* too: The *Bus'ness* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* being the *Only Leg* the *Plot* had now left to stand upon. Beside, that the *White-Horse-Consult* and the *Somerſet-House-Murther* rested upon the same *Bottom*: Infomuch that the *Fall* of the *Plot* Tript up the *Heels* of the *Murther*; for *Bedloe* and *Prance* swearing to *Both Alike*; if there was *No Plot*, they were Consequently *Forsworn* to *Both Alike*.

In few words, All the *Narratives*, *Depositions*, and *Articles* of *Otes*, *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, were so run'd One to Another, that it was *Impossible* to *Touch* Either of the *Three*, and the *Other Two* not *Feel* on't. I speak of their *Agreement* in One *Common END*; for they fall foul one upon another, every Step they set, in the *WAY* to't. If

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Otes was Forsworn, so were the Other Two, by an Inseparable Complication; and Prance's Business was more then three quarters done, in the very doing of Otes's. This Consideration was most Dutifully layd before the Late King, and not without some sort of Importunity, (within the Compass of Good Manners) for the Honour of His Majesties Leave, Order, and Commission, to see if Prance might not be brought to the Stake as well as Otes; and the One Prov'd to be as Rank an Impostor as the Other. His Majesty was Graciously pleased hereupon, to Encourage, and to Appoint such a Scrutiny; and to Enable me with All Necessary Powers for an Effectual Enquiry into the True State and Condition of That Affair. In pursuance hereof, Divers Enformations were Taken; the Matter Reported upon; and Sir Edmund's Clark found at all hands to have been the Great Confident of the Secret. But he having withdrawn himself into the Isle of Ely; and not without some Jealousie upon the Reason of his going out of the way, as well as Difficulty to learn where he was; His Majesty was pleased to Direct a Special Commission for the strict Examination of him, as hereunder follows.

Where-

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W Hereas His Majesty is given to understand, upon the Enformation of Roger L'Estrange, Esq; That there is one Henry Moor, living at present at Littleport, or elsewhere in the Isle of Ely, who is able to Discover Matters of Great Importance to his Majesties Service: These are therefore in his Majesties Name, and by his Special Direction and Appointment, to will and require you, or either of you, forthwith upon the Receipt hereof to send for the said Henry Moor, and him strictly and punctually to Examine, upon certain Matters, and Things, whereof Roger L'Estrange, Esq; abovesaid shall give you particular Enformation: And him having Examined, to transmit the said Examination unto the said Mr. L'Estrange. And for so doing, This shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Winchester, the 8th. Day of September, 1684.

To John Nalson, L. L. D. and
John Fincham, Esq; Two of
his Majesties Justices of
Peace for the Isle of Ely, or
either of them.

By

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By a Letter from Mr. Fincham, bearing Date, Sept. 20. 1684. I understood that these Worthy Gentlemen had Examined Harry Moor, according to their Order. And by Another from Dr. Nalson of the 22d. I received the Examination it self, with an Account from Both, how Moor stood upon his Guard; and how Dextrously he Manag'd his Point.

We found him (says Mr. Fincham) to be very subtle and dexterous in Equivocating. His Answers for the most part, Study'd, and Labour'd; and although we took a great deal of Pains with him, and used all the Arguments we could to be clear and plain, yet we could not prevail. However, he has confessed enough to confirm Mr. Wynels Enformation; and likewise owns Mrs. Gibbons coming to Sir Edmunds House on the Tuesday, and his leading her to Church after the Corps; and Declares, That he went with the Godfreys to her House on the Sunday.

He acknowledges his telling Mrs. Pamphlin, on Sunday Morning, that Sir Edmund was gone Abroad Two Hours before she enquired for him; and for the Reason of it, he gives the Command of Secrecy Enjoyn'd him by Mr. Godfrey. In short, the Great Secrecy that he was all along obliged to, by the Godfreys, (for which we could not get any Reason from him, when we told him how much it had been the Interest of his Masters Brothers, and
all

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all his Friends, if they had suspected he had been Murther'd by any Person, to have made the same Publick, and obtained my L. C. Justice's Warrant to have search'd all Places that they had suspected for him) together with the Evasive Answers he gave us, shews in Practice, &c.

Dr. Nelson Writes thus, [He is a Cunning old Fellow as ever I saw; and what you have, is Extorted from him by a Thousand Cross Questions; for we were upon him Five or Six Hours.

It is the Greatest Riddle (as I told him) that, as he Avers, only He Himself, and the Two God-freys should know of Sir E. G's Absenting, till the Tuesday; and yet the Saturday Post sent it all over England, that the Papists had Murther'd him, or at least, that there was such a Fear.

This Cavil about the Saturdays Post I have cleared over and over, where the Subject led me to That Point; And so I have the Other Pretence of the Worlds taking no Notice of Sir E's Absenting Himself till Tuesday; for they went from place to place Enquiring after him, to my Lady Prats, to Captain Gibbons; they told Parsons, and Mason as much before, and most of the Enformations Dated from the very day of his Absenting himself; it being All over the Town, upon the Sunday, What was become of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? He went out Yesterday Morning, and did not come home Last Night.

The

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The First Thing Necessary, was to Learn out the Truth of the Fact; and the Next Thing in question, was the Practice of the Instruments and Managers of These Plot-Matters; and Principally, how they dealt with their Prisoners by the Force of Money, Cruelty, False-Witnesses, Sham-Accusations, Menaces, Flatteries, the Fear of Death, or the Hope of Life: And in fine, by All the ways Imaginable of Hitting the Blind side of the Men they had to do withal. 'Tis no News at This time of Day, what Arts & Sollicitations were us'd to Carry people off and on, according to the Biass of Those Times; when the True Interpretation of [*Confess the Truth, or you shall certainly be Hang'd.*] was [*Forswear yourself and be Damn'd.*] Now the Stories of This way of Tampering were so Rise, while This Bus'ness of the Plot was in Agitation, that His Majesty was pleas'd to Grant Another Order of Enquiry into any thing of This Kind that pass'd in the Prisons: (which I did accordingly) And the Order runs in the Terms Following.

Whitehall, Octob. 6. 1684.

W Hereas his Majesty hath lately received several Enformations concerning the Manage of Edward Fitts-Harris, and Miles Prance, and several other Persons while they were Prisoners in Newgate, the Gate-

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Gate-House, and Elsewhere ; It is his Majesties Pleasure, that you make a particular Enquiry by the Means of Captain Richardson, Mr. Church, and others, into the Matters aforesaid, concerning the Practices of Those that came to them, and had to do with them, by any unlawful, and Unwarrantable Ways.

And you are likewise hereby Authorized, and Empower'd, to assure the said Keepers, or Others by them Employed of his Majesties particular Grace and Favour, even in case of their own Failings or Misdemeanours, upon a full and a clear Declaration of the Truth, in, or concerning this Affair. And hereof, you are forthwith to make a Report.

To Roger L'E-
strange, Esq;

It was a Great Advance that was made into the Cause of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: and the Proceedings against Otes were by This time brought to the very Day of Issue; when God Almighty took to Himself our Late Gracious, and Blessed Sovereign, which put a short Stop to the Prosecution both of the One, and of the Other: But however, the Prosecution was Reviv'd, and upon the 8th, and 9th. Days of May, 1685. Otes was Convict at the Kings-Bench-Bar upon Two In-

To Posterity.

Indictments for Wilful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury; and Miles Prance was also Convict of Perjury in the Case of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey and Mr. Vernatti, May 4. 1686. So that now there was a Fair Place left for a General Review: But I was Concern'd however, to secure my self under the Warrant and Protection of a Further Authority for a Continuation of the Scrutiny; which his PRESENT Majesty was Graciously pleased to Grant me in the Form following,

JAMES R.

IT is Our Royal Will, Pleasure and Command, that immediately upon Sight hereof, you make a strict and diligent Enquiry into such Matters and Things as you shall reasonably conceive may give some Light concerning the Death of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and that you forthwith send for such Persons of Probity and good Repute, as you shall know, hear, or understand to have been privy to any Circumstances relating to the said End; And that you Examine every such Person upon Oath touching the same; more especially the Keeper of Newgate, and such of his Officers and People, as had the Care of Miles Prance,

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France, while he was there a Prisoner: And likewise one Boyce a Glas-Eye-Maker, and such others as you shall have cause to believe may be able to give any Material Enformati-on thereupon. You are hereby Required, and Authorized to proceed upon the Matters afore-said without any Delay; and to give us a particular Account of the whole Affair: And for so doing, this shall be your Warrant. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 19th Day of February, 1685. in the Second year of our Reign.

By His Majesties Command.

To our Trusty and well-beloved, Sir Roger L'E-
strange, Knight.

Sunderland P.

Over and above These Authorities, I had likewise the View of the Parliament-Journals, the Council-Papers, and All Publique Depositions, that might be helpful to me upon This Subject, and Oc-casion; to say nothing of all the Printed Tryals, and Narratives that are Extant. So that in short, there wanted only True Copies of the En-formations before the Coroner, to put me in pos-session

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session of the whole Matter: to which End I was further Enabled by *This Following Order.*

Robert Earl of Sunderland, Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, President of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, and Principal Secretary of State, &c.

W Hereas upon, or about the 18th. Day of October, 1678. You by Your Precept summon'd a Jury to Enquire how Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, late of the County of Middlesex, Deceased, came by his Death. And whereas you did Execute the said Inquisition, and several Witnesses were Produced, and Examined before you on the Behalf of the King; whose Enformations upon Oath in Writing are in your Custody or Power, True Copies of which Examinations from the Originals, as also a True Copy of the Inquisition, it his Majesties Pleasure should be forthwith delivered to Sir Roger L'Estrange, Knight, One of his Majesties Justices of Peace for the County of Middlesex: These
are

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are therefore to will and require you forthwith to deliver to the said Sir Roger L'Estrange True Copies of All the said Enformations, not omitting any one of them ; and likewise a True Copy of the said Inquisition, by him to be compared with the several Originals ; And hereof you are not to fail. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 28th Day of March, 1687.

To Mr. John Comper, one of
his Majesties Coroners for
the County of Middlesex.

Sunderland P.

Upon This Order, Mr. Comper the Coroner deliver'd me the Copies of several Enformations. As the Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe, and of Eleanor his Wife: Two Enformations of Zachariah Skillarne ; Two of John Brown the Constable ; and the Enformations of Nicholas Cambridge, John Wilson, Tho. Morgan, William Bromwell, John Walters, John Rawson, Henry Moor, Caleb Winde, Richard Duke, and Mary the Wife of Captain Tho. Gibbon. The foregoing Enformations must be understood, according to the Order to Mr. Comper, to be the True Copies of the said Enformations. And to be All too, [Not omitting any one of them.] And Mr. Comper Delivered me likewise a Copy of the Order it self, by him thus Attested, at the foot of the said Order.

To Posterity.

6th of April, 1686. This is a true Copy of the Order above-written, Delivered unto Sir Roger L'Estrange Knight, by me; the Original being in my Custody.

Jo. Cowper.

Here are Sixteen Enformations upon Tale, and not One Word to the Question of the manner of his Death; but upon the Conjecture of the Two Surgeons, Mr. Skillarne and Mr. Cambridge. Mrs. Gibbon, that could have spoken very much, says very little, and it was not properly an Enformation to the Coroner neither; for the Verdict was Overfirst. Moor the Clark, (that was in Effect, a Secretis, to the whole Mystery, was only Interrogated, *If his Master went out in a Lac'd Band*: I do not object to That Question; but why That Question, and No More, to a man that both, the Brothers, and the Coroner knew to be Privy to the whole Transaction? If he went out in a Lac'd Band, he was Murther'd; but if he had gone out in a Plain Band, he had been *Felo de se*. For whether he Dy'd by the Sword, or the Rope, or the Linnen Cloth, was the Question. The Jury sat upon Friday, and Adjourn'd till Saturday; and it was after Midnight when they gave up their Verdict. Now the Surgeons Deliver'd their Conjectural Evidence upon Friday; but the Jurors being wholly Unsatisfy'd, upon That meeting, were Prevail'd upon to Adjourn in order to the Getting of Further, and of Better Proofs. And what were those Further, and those Better Proofs that came

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came in next day, but Mr. *Radcliffe* and Mrs. *Radcliffe*, *Caleb Wind* and *Richard Duke*, that saw Sir *Edmund* in the *Strand* at Twelve or One a Clock the *Saturday* of his going away, after he had taken his Walk in the Fields toward *Marybone*: But These are Points that are Handled in Better Order, and more at large in Their Due places.

After this Care taken for the Finding out of the *Truth*, and for the *Methods* of *Arriving* at it. All Good men, I hope, will Acquit me, that I have proceeded upon the *Conscience* of an Honest Man, in the very *Inclinations* of doing it; and that in the Zeal of pushing it forward, I have no cause to be Ashamed of Owning my self an *Officious Lover* of *Justice*. And I have been no less Tender of usurping upon the Province of my *Superiors*, in keeping my self strictly to all the Measures of *Duty* and *Reverence* towards the *Government*. I can fairly Appeal to the Reader now in one Word more, that I have taken as much Care to lay open the matter of *Fact* on the *One* side, as on the *Other*; for where should any Man look for the *True* and *Reasonable Grounds* of a *Verdict*, but in the Words and Import of the *Evidence*? To which End, I have here exposed the *Enformations* that were taken by the *Coroner*; I have likewise *Impartially* Extracted the Uttermost Force of All that was said in Proof of the *Murther*, upon the *Tryals*: And upon the whole Matter, I do here submit my self as to the *Candor* of this *Following, Discourse* to All *Indifferent Judges*.

To Posterity.

Let me not be thought Insensible all this while that I Write now against the Stream, and that an Integrity of This Standard Labours against Wind and Tyde. A stubborn Inflexible Honesty is almost sure of as many Enemies, as there are Men able to do him Mischief, that have Sacrific'd to Pluralities upon the Poll, Popular Applause, Interest, and Occasions: But my Fortune is made, in the Comfort of a Good Conscience, and in the Blessing of an Indifference, that has cast All these Cares behind it. I will have the Vanity too, (even without Asking God Forgiveness for it) to Hope, that These Papers may out-live the Envy that This Necessary way of Liberty has brought upon the Composer of them; And that After-times shall Thank me in my Grave, for the Plain History of many Useful Truths, how Odious soever at Present, which in all Likelyhood they should never have known without me.

But to shew now at last, that the Officious Zeal of a Pragmatical Observer (as the Wit in Mode has it) has not Transported him beyond the Terms of Decency and Good Manners. I have not so much as skew'd, in this Whole Discourse, upon Any Person where the Thrift of the Story did not Absolutely Require it. I meddle with no Mans Opinion, Forreign to this Single point. Toleration, or no Toleration, has nothing at all to do in This Book. I support my self from one End of it to the Other, upon Evident and Visible Fact: I have the Publique, and the Solemn Declaration

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claration of a Famous Common Lawyer, for the Equity and the Legality of my Conclusions, as they are drawn from Warrantable Premisses.

As to the Coroners Jury, with a respect to the Verdict, I do here make use of several of their Enformations, which were Frankly Deliver'd, and they are as Faithfully Reported. I do not find that there was any Great Stress laid upon the Evidence before Them, that spake to the very Pinch of the Question. Only upon the First day, while Bloud, or No Bloud was any part of the Debate, they stood it out; for they themselves knowing that there was a Great Deal of Bloud, would not agree to find him Strangled, so long as Bloud was insisted upon as an Argument that he Dy'd by the Sword. But upon the Saturday; and after a whole Nights Contest, what to make on't: The Bloud, (that is to say the Demonstrative Proof) being quite laid aside; the Surgeons continued of Opinion that he was Strangled, and the Question being a Surgeons-Matter, the Jury resign'd themselves, and Agreed upon the Verdict.

Just as I was Finishing the History of One Popish Murther, up starts Another.

Upon the 30th of January Last past, about Nine at Night there was found, in Parkers Lane, among the Dungbills, the Trunk of a Murther'd and Dis-membred Body of a Man. The Thighs, Legs, and Arms were taken up Next Morning, from under a House of Office in the Savoy; Drippings of

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Bloud seen on the Wall; and the Head found in Another Common Place of Ease, in the Strand, near Exeter Exchange.

This Tragical Story rais'd such a Habub, of Rumour and Discourse all ore the Kingdom, that This Particular Assassinate was most Industiously Represented, as no Other, then the Earnest of an Universal Massacre. Insomuch, that there was hardly an Eminent Protestant Divine, but they were presently Fitting His Head to This Bodies Shoulders. It fell out unluckily enough, that a Couple of poor Journyemen Joyners, that were taken Notice of to be more Busie then Ordinary, about the Place That night where the Body was Laid, were Taken, and Committed upon't: And in my Conscience, it would have gone Hard with'em, if God's Providence had not Order'd such a Discovery, Another way, as Clear'd these Two Men to All Purposes of any Possibility of being Guilty of the Fact.

I take Freedom to Discourse the Case thus far, in regard that they have been already taken into Custody, Examined, Produc'd, and Acquitted, by the Coroners Inquest.

The Criminals, upon the Other Account, are in the hand of the Law, and it will not become Me to Anticipate the Judgment of a Court of Justice, by any General, or Particular Previous Defcant, upon the Point in Question. I shall only say, that since the Whole Matter (what ever the Town may Talk to the contrary) has pass'd through

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through my Hands ; As the Discovery of the Head ; the Proving of That Head to be the Head of Aubry ; and the Proving Those Quarters also that were found in the Savoy, to belong to the same Body. Since All This is True ; I say, (as Sir Robert Clark, and several others will bear me Witness) and that *All the Enformations, Every One of them*, fell under My Particular Care ; (Three only Excepted, wherein Justice Lugg Joyn'd with me) I have some Right, Methinks, for the Credit of Truth, and of my self, to speak a Word or Two on the Safe Side of the Question.

The Story of the Body, the Bloud, the Quarters, &c. being All put together, furnish'd Matter for so Terrible a Relation, that the Phantôme it self of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Nothing to't: Infomuch that a man could hardly Walk the Streets, without being Flapt in the Mouth, with a [*Will you believe Now that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murder'd by the Papists ?*] I received a Penny-Post Letter upon the Occasion, which the Reader shall have as Cheap here as I had it.

Sir, I understand that you are Writing a Book to Prove to the World that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murder'd Himself. It would be a Work Equally Acceptable to This Nation, to Demonstrate that the Person lately found Murthered, did Cut off his Own Arms and Leggs, and then with his Own Hands did Cut off his Own Head, and Order'd his Trunk to be Carryed, and left upon a Dunghill

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in Parkers-Lane, and there to receive Burial as
Heretiques Deserve.

Yours

Philodidius.

This Letter is a *Specimen* of the *Humour*, both
of the *Season*, and of the *People*, that are so
Forward to Erect *Articles of Faith* upon *Visionary*
Illusions. 'Tis a Thing *Incredible*, what a Con-
course of People Met Every Day and Hour, in
Shoals, to see the Dreadful sight of the *Bloud* at
the *Savoy*: What *Romances* upon it; What *In-*
ferences, and *Applications*, as if Every Drop of
Protestant Bloud in the *Peoples Veins* were to go
the same Way with That upon the *Savoy-Wall*. But
to see now, how the Just Goodness of *Heav'n*
has Turn'd All This, to the *Reputation* of *God-*
frey's Case, instead of *Confounding* it. For let
the *Present Murder* be Fix'd where it will; the
Bloud at the *Savoy* will have *No Part at all* in
That *Story*: so that I hope the *Snare* of this *Pre-*
tence, for the *Abusing*, the *Embroiding*, and the
Tumultuating of the *Common People*, when they
shall Discern how *Dangerous*, and how *Mali-*
cious the *Cheat* was, may turn to their *Advan-*
tage. Methinks it should make them *Careful*,
What to Believe, and *Whom to Trust*: And say
to Themselves; Instead of [*Here's the second*
Part of the Murder of Sir Edmundbury God-
frey; *Here's the second Part of the Imposture of*
That Pretended Murder.

To Posterity.

I cannot have a Better Occasion, or a Better Place, for the Exposing of This Spiteful Sham, then That which I am now upon; And I cannot better do it, then by setting forth the Truth of That Bus'ness of the Bloud: And that it was a Sort of Bloud, which they that would have it Thought to be Protestant Bloud are not so Tender of Spilling. I must Desire the Reader to take Notice here, that Murder, is of No Religion; and that Truth, is of All Religions that ever were under the Sun. But for the Clearer Illustration of the Matter, I shall here subjoyn several Enformations that I have taken concerning This Bloud: And it is Desir'd, that an Enquiry may be made by any man that has the Least Doubt upon him, whether All the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons, in These Following Depositions, be not True in Every Point, according to the Known Matter of Fact.

Midd. } The Enformation of Dr. Richard
& ff. } Lambe of the Parish of St. Clements
Westm. } Danes, Feb. 7. 1687.

SAITH, that upon Sunday Morning the 29th of January Last Past, Mr. Hall one of the Fathers in the Savoy, finding himself Ill with the Spitting of Bloud, sent for this Enformant (as appeared by the Message) to come to the said Mr. Hall, and let him Bloud: The said Mr. Hall telling This Enformant, that it was by the Order of Sir George Wakeman. And this Enformant went accordingly,

To Posterity.

ly, and Open'd a Vein, taking a Quantity of Bloud from him according to his Order.

And saith, That on the Morning following, This Enformant went again to the Savoy, and Open'd a Vein for Mr. James Cook, and likewise for John Taylor. Having let Mr. Hall Bloud in a Room One pair of Stairs, in the Presence of several People: Mr. Cook being let Bloud Three pair of Stairs High; and John Taylor in the Kitchen.

Jurat. die & Anno supradict. Coram Me
Ro. L'Estrange.

Richard Lambe.

Midd. }
& } ff.
Westm. }

The Enformation of Francis Hunter of the Savoy, Taken upon Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.

SAITH, That on Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, This Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. James Cook, while Mr. Lambe let him Bloud, in a Room Three pair of Stairs High.

Jurat. die &
An. supradict'

Francis Hunter.

The Enformation of John Taylour of the Savoy, Taken upon Oath, Feb. 9. 1687.

SAITH, That upon Munday, Jan. 30. 1687. in the Morning, Dr. Lamb let This Enformant Bloud in the Savoy-Kitchen.

And

To Posterity.

*And saith, that about One, the Cook threw the
Bloud out at the Kitchin-Window.*

*Jurat. die & Anno. The Mark T of
supradict. John T Taylour*

*The Enformation of Mr. James Cook of the
Savoy, &c.*

S*SAITH, That Mr. Lambe came to This En-
formant, upon Munday Morning the 30th
of January Last past, and let him Bloud: And
that This Enformant seeing the Bloud yet standing
in the Porringer on the Day following, One ask'd
This Enformant what he meant to do with the
Bloud, to let it stand so long? And so he took it and
threw it out at the Window into the Thames.
And This Enformant heard that Bloud was seen
upon the Wall, and at the Bottom where it fell;
but This Enformant did not see it.*

*And This Enformant seeing People about the
Bloud under the Window, and Reflecting upon the
Limbs that were there found, bad the Cook not Wash
the Porringer, for People might possibly come to
search about it.*

*Jurat. die & Anno
supradict.*

James Cooke

The

To Posterity.

Midd.

&

Westm.

} ss.

The Enformation of *Peter Bayly*,
of the Parish of *St. Martins* in
the *Fields*, Taken upon Oath,
Jan. 9. 1687.

THIS Enformant saith, that upon Monday,
the 30th. of January, 1687. About one of the
Clock, he was in the Kitchen belonging to the
Schools in the Savoy, where he saw two Porringers
of Blood, which he was told was the Blood of Mr.
Cook, and of John Taylor. And that he this
Enformant saw the Cook throw out the Blood of the
said John Taylor (as he was told it was) out of the
Kitchen Window.

Jurat' die & An-
no Supradict.

Peter Bayly.

The Enformation of *Ignatius Walters*, of the Sa-
voy, taken upon Oath, *Feb. 29. 1687.*

SAITH, that on Sunday, Jan. 29. 1687. This
Enformant held the Porringer to Mr. Hall in
the Great Room up One pair of Stairs, while Mr.
Lambe let him Blood.

And saith, That on Tuesday Morning next
following, he saw Mr. Allen throw out Mr. Hall's
Blood; and Mr. Cook throw his Own, out at the
Kitchen-Window. And that on the Monday a-
bove

To Posterity.

bove, this Enformant saw John Taylor let Blond, and this Enformant threw it out of the Aforesaid Window the same Afternoon.

And this Enformant saith, That a little of the Blond stuck upon the Wall toward the Thames, which was not brushed off till the Thursday following.

Jurat' die & Anno supradict.

Ignatius Walters.

There never were Two Shams better Match'd, and the World could never have Furnished me with a more Auspicious Entrance into my Story of Godfrey, then this of Aubry. (For Dennis Aubry is the Name of this Murther'd Person.) I speak as to the Improvement of a Prodigious Mischief out of a False, and a Scandalous Foundation: Only for the Honour of This Latter, the Other was much the Grosser Imposture of the Two, as will more and more appear, upon a thorough Perusal and Consideration of this Ensuing Treatise.

As to the Method and Disposition of the Matter in hand; I have Divided the Whole into Two Parts; and Each Part into Chapters, with Contents to them, that will do the Office of a Table.

And I have further, (for the Stopping of All Mouths) Deposited the Originals in the Paper-Office, to the End, that whoever Doubts whether they are Authentique or not, needs go no further for satisfaction then to the Bundle it self, as it remains there, under the Title of [Enformations concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

THE

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THE

THE
MYSTERY
OF THE
DEATH
OF
Sir E. B. Godfrey
UNFOLDED.

PART. I.

CHAP. I.

Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did certainly Dye a violent Death; and William Bedloe and Miles Prance took upon them to Discover the Murthers, and the Murther.

THERE never was, perhaps, such a *Mystery* made of a *Plain Case*, as we have had in the *Bus'ness* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*: That is to say; Concerning the *Manner* of his *Death*; The
B Time;

Time; *The Place*; *The Occasion* of it; and by what *Hands* He Fell: And All This only for want of Taking right Measures in the *Tracing* and *Timing* of Things. For Whoever draws *Inferences*, Hand-over-Head, from *Bold Allegations*, to *Certainty of Fact*; or from *Positive Oaths*, to the *Truth* of every Thing that is *Sworn*, without Further Enquiry, or Examination, will find himself Mightily Mistaken upon the Subject here in Issue.

To do This as it should be done, there must a Regard be had to the *Order*, both of *Time*, and of *Connexion*; the *Date*, the *Series*, and the *Succession* of Things, *Apart*; with the *Reasons*, and *Countenances* of Affairs, as they stand in the *Context*. It will Need but a very short Deduction, to bring down the Course of This Story into the Proper Channel, by laying open the Naked *Fact* of Sir *E. B. G's* Dying a *Violent Death*: By shewing *Who* they were that took upon them to *Detect* the *Murderers*, and to *Prove* the *Murder*; and how *Godfrey's Name* came Originally into the Story; which, as they pretended, was the Occasion of his *Death*. This is it that I propose for the *Argument* of my *First Chapter*, and Thence to Proceed, Step by Step, and in a Natural Method from one Point to another.

The *First Question* will be, *Whether or No* the Murder was Committed in Manner, and Form, as the *Witnesses* Swear it was, at *Somerset-house*? The *Second Point* will be This. In Case it shall appear that he was Not Murder'd at *Somerset-house*, or by such *Persons*, or by such *Means*, or upon such a *Grudge*, as *France* and *Bedloe* swear he was; In what *Place*, by what *Instruments*, in what *Way*, and by what *Instigation*, Was he Murdered? These Two Considerations shall be laid indifferently before the Reader, in a Distribution of this Discourse, respectively, into Two
Parts,

Parts, without Bespeaking One Partial Word or Thought upon the whole Matter.

As to the Two Witneses that gave Testimony in This Cause, they had no more Skill in the Merits of it, then the Next Cast of *Parrots* in the Price of *Almonds*: But there was an *Intrigue* of *State* driven on, under the Cover of a *Jesuitical Confederacy*, which render'd it Necessary, at That Time, to make the *Papists* as *Odi-ous* as they could, and to lay all *Judgments* and *Calamities*, as well *Publique*, as *Private*, at their Door. As, among others, This Unhappy Miscarriage of Sir E. B. Godfrey for One: So that we are to Consult the *Popish Plot* for the *Popish Murther*: The *Latter* being made so *Essential* a Part of the *Former*, that there's No *Disbelieving* the *One*, without *Ridiculing* the *Other*: But how These *Two* came to be Incorporated into *One Interest* and *Design*, will Deserve a Place by it self.

Dr. Tong was hardly ever without a *Plot* in his *Head*, and a *Pen* in his *Hand*. The *One* Bred the *Maggots*, and the *Other* Vented them: As his *Royal Martyr*, for Example; His *Jesuits Assassins*, and other Writings of his under the Title of *Cases*, or *Narratives*: which *Narratives* were Transform'd, with *One Breath* of *Otes's*, into *Damnable Conspiracies*. Now *Narrative* in those Days, was only a *Modish Name* for a *Roman-tique Forgery*. This was the Rise of the *Doctor's Popish Plot*; He took the *Idea* of it from *Habernfeld*; Sent *Otes* among the *Jesuits*, for *Hints*, and *Materials*; and so away Trudges he to *Valladolid*, and after that to *St. Omers*, where he stays a while, and then comes back again to his *Principal*, Charg'd with *Minutes* of *Names*. *Times*, *Places*, *Customs*, &c. Tong Pounds them into *One Confection*, and according to the Text, *Exod. Ch. 32. ver. 24.* [*There came out this Calf.*]

The Project being now form'd, and Distributed into Articles, *Tong* presented a Copy of them, in a *Narrative*, to his Late Majesty upon the *Thirteenth* of *August*, 1678. Plying the King with *Fresh Informations* and *further Importunities*, till toward the End of *September* following; but instead of gaining Credit by the Pretence of *Additional Confirmations* and *Discoveries*, His Majesty came by Degrees to be Fully possess'd in the Conclusion, That *the whole Train of the History was no better then a Down-right Imposture*. The King's Hardness of Belief, was quickly smok'd by the *Plot-master*, and his *Advisers*; Infomuch, that though they could not *Totally* take the Matter out of His Majesties *Hand*, They did what they could yet, by a *Side-Wind*, to *Transfer* the Cause, from the *Privy-Council*, to the *Parliament*; where they made themselves sure before-hand, of a *Majority* to bid it *Welcom*. In Order hereunto, Sir *E. B. Godfrey* was Earnestly pressed, and with much Difficulty prevail'd upon, *Sept. 6. 1678*: to Swear *Otes* to *Tong's Narrative*; and likewise to take his Oath over again, to the *same Copies*, with *Fresh* and *further Enformations*, upon the *28th.* of the *same Month*; which Depositions were presented by *Tong*, That very *Morning*, to the *King* and *Council*.

While Matters were thus Depending, Sir *E. B. Godfrey* went from his House on *Saturday*, the *12th* of *October* following; And No Tidings what was become of him, till *Thursday* the *17th.* when he was found, toward the Evening, in a *Ditch*, with his own *Sword* through his *Body*, at, or near a Place Call'd *Prim-Rose-Hill*. The *Coronors Inquest* sat upon't, but adjourn'd to the *Day Following*, and Then gave up their Verdict, *i. e.* [That he was *Murther'd* by *divers Persons Unknown*, &c.] *October 20th.* His Majesty Emitt'd a *Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the *Murtherers*, wherein are these Words.

His

His Majesty is graciously pleased hereby to promise to any Person or Persons, who shall make such a Discovery, whereby the said Murtherers, or any of them, shall be Apprehended, the Sum of Five Hundred Pound, which shall be immediately paid down upon sufficient Testimony, that such Persons or Person are, or is Guilty of the said Murther: And if any one of the Murtherers shall discover the rest, whereby They, or any of them, shall be apprehended, such Discoverer shall not only be Pardon'd his Offence, but shall in like manner receive the said Reward of Five Hundred Pound.

On the *Thursday* following, upon a Suggestion that there were People would come in to discover the Murther, if it were not for the Danger of being Murthered themselves in Revenge; His Majesty was graciously pleas'd, by *Another Proclamation*, to add an Assurance of *Protection* to the former Promise of *Pardon*, and *Reward*; so that here was *Indemnity, Money, and Security* offered to the fairest Bidder, and it fell to the Lot of *W. Bedloe* (or rather *Beddoe*) to be the Man. We shall reserve the Consideration of his Character, and of his Evidence for Another Place.

The *Second Proclamation* was not Eight-and-Forty-Hours-Old, when a sudden Freak took him in the Head of making a Step from *London* to *Bristol*, and there was a Gentlewoman in his Company that went down to her Parents there, by the same Passage. They were no sooner come to their Inn at *Newberry*, but *Bedloe* Call'd presently for *Pen, Ink, and Paper*, to write, he said, to *Secretary Coventry*. The Woman saw the *Writing, Sealing, Superscribing*, and the sending away of the Letter by the Post: She Read the *Superscription* too, but could not get any thing from him of the *Contents*, more then This, *That if the Business of that*

Letter succeeded, he would present her with a Diamond Ring (being a small Sum of Mony in her Debt, it seems) And he said Farther, that he expected to receive an Answer of That Letter at Bristoll, which accordingly he did receive with a Letter Enclos'd to the Mayor of Bristoll in the Terms Following.

Whitehall, Nov. 2. 1678.

Mr. Bedloe,

I Have Received your Letter of October 30th. and shall be glad to see you here with all the Convenient Speed you can; but whereas you desire to come (as you Express it) Clandestinely, and not to be seen by Those People that sent you out of Town, and yet would have me give you an Order to the Mayor of Bristoll, for your Appearance before Me: These two Things seem to be Inconsistent. You may, if you think Fit, come-up of your self, as Privately as you Can, without the Knowledge of the Mayor, or any other Person, being under No Restraint, as I suppose you are Not. But if you Judge it Convenient that Mr. Mayor be acquainted with your coming, I have written a short Letter to him here-Enclosed; and have sent you a Copy of it, that you may consider whether you will make use of it or No. I know not whom you mean by [Those People that sent you out of Town;] but when you come to Town, I will take the most Effectual Course I can for your Safety and Protection: I am

To Mr. W. Bedloe at
Mr. T. Jones's house
in Broadstreet. Bristoll.

Your Humble Servant,
H. Coventry.
Mr.

Mr. Secretary Coventry's Letter to the Mayor of
Bristol, Nov. 2. 1678.

Worthy Sir,

THere being some Special Occasion for Mr. William Bedloe, (now residing in your City) to make his Appearance before me, I have thought it fit hereby to acquaint you with it, desiring you to favour and further his speedy coming hither, with such Orders and Directions as you shall think necessary, if he shall apply himself to you in that behalf: But because Secrecy is to be us'd in This matter, I must intreat you to keep it Private, so as No Notice may be taken thereof. I am with much Truth, Sir,

Your Affectionate Humble Servant,

H. Coventry.

I shall only observe here, that Notwithstanding Bedloe's Caution of Privacy, he had the Vanity to make his pretended Discovery a Work of Noise, and Clamor: For he got himself to be taken up at Noon-day upon the Tolzey, with hundreds of People Crowding about him; and the Multitude were not only Witnesses of the Seizure, but made Privy also to the Business which was as Publique as a Street-Rumour, and his Affectation of being taken Notice of, could make it. From Bristol he was Convey'd to London, where he was Immediately Dubb'd a Captain, and a Kings Evidence. By This Timely Application, he got the Start

however of All Other Pretenders, to the *Five-Hundred-Pound-Reward*.

It was upon the 5th. of *November*, 1678. that he Left *Bristol*, and upon *St. Thomas day* following, *Miles Prance*, a *Silver-Smith*, was taken into Custody upon Suspicion of being one of the *Assassins*. He Deny'd All, at *First*, and so by *Fitts*, went off and on, *Afterwards*, till the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*, with the help of the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, open'd his Eyes, and brought him in the End, to do the Office of a *Necessary*, and a *Thorough-pac'd-Evidence*.

CHAP. II.

Why, and How the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was made a Branch of the Pretended Plot, Exhibited by Dr. Tong and Titus Otes.

TO Talk of a *PRETENDED Murther*, and of a *PRETENDED Plot*, may look perchance like a *prejudging* of the Cause; and if it were a *Stage*, as it is a *State-Plot*, It would not, I must Confess, be so *Masterly*, to *forestall* the Readers Curiosity by telling him the Secret so soon: But in a Case of *Truth*, *Honesty*, and *Conscience*, I take the *Readiest* Way to the clearing of the Point, to be the *Best*; Beside, That even if the very *Fact*, both of the *One*, and of the *Other*, were, to a Tittle as 'tis Reported to be, it would go no further then *PRETENDED Still*; That is to say, with a Respect to the *Reporters*, if they Swear

Swear *Positively* to more than they *Know*. But for *Pre-
tended*, or *Not Pretended*, we'll let That Pass, and
come short to the First Member of this Division, that
is to say, [WHY] was the *Murther*, &c. made a
Branch of the *Plot*?

There was at That Time, a *Real Conspiracy* upon
the *Wheel*, under the *Countenance* of another in *Vision*;
and the *Hopes* of the *One*, Depended entirely upon
the *Reputation* of the *Other*; for the Peoples Affections
are as Necessary to a *Rebellion*, as their *Fingers*; and
for *One* Man that Heartily Espouses the *Wickedness*, and
the *Malice* of a *Sedition*, a Body may Honestly reckon
upon a *Hundred*, that are *Trick'd* into it, by a *Plau-
sible Cheat*: Now the Heat of *Otes's Plot* was, by This
Time, pretty well Cool'd, and the *Republican Pra-
ctices* Consequently at some sort of *Stand*. Men be-
gan to *Hearken*, to *Enquire*, to Lay Things and Things
Together, and to *Examine* Matters; to Carry their *own
Heads* upon their *own Shoulders*: Again, to *Judge* for
Themselves, and to Act like *Reasonable Creatures*. They
began, I say, to make Use of their *Own Eyes*, and
Understandings, and to Try if they could find the
way *Home* again, without the help of a *Dog and a Bell*.
The *Supposed Conspiracy*, they saw, had but *One Single*
Testimony to support it: And *That*, a *Blasted* one too:
Nay, the *Narrative* it self was found to be only *Noise*,
without *Proof*. But in fine; what with *This*, *That*, and
T'other, the *Cause*, (in *Common Reputation* at least) was
ee'n giving up the *Ghost*; for want of *Variety*, as well of
Matter, as of *Witnesses*, to keep the Life and Soul to-
gether on't. But at Length, through a Wonderful Pro-
vidence (as Providence went Then-a-Days) both these
Wants were supply'd, by *Bedloe* and *Prance*; and a *Se-
cond Fraud* made use of, to Prove the *Truth* of the *Former*.
So it was, in fine, That *Tong's* and *Otes's Devil* had been
quite *Sunk*, they said, if the *Two New Conjurers* had
not

not Call'd him Up again. The Matter in Brief, was so Manag'd, that the *Murther* was to prove the *Plot*, and the *Plot*, to Prove the *Murther*: Witness the Stress that was laid upon the Matter at All Tryals, in favour of the *Truth*, and *Providence* of the *Discovery*. Nay, they went so Inseparably hand in hand together, that [*Who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?*] was the Common Refuge of People that were run up to the Wall, upon That Controversie. Insomuch, that it Stopp'd All Mouths, and Answered all Objections. The Pretended *Conspiracy* it self, as I was a-saying, had as much need of a *Second*, as the *Witness*; and when *Otes* and his Works came once to be Blown upon, they were, in their own *Defence*, to find out something else that was *Horrid in Fact*, to Bolster up the *Reputation* of the *Guns*, *Daggers*, *Pilgrims* and *Consults*, that never had any Being in the Nature of Things, further then in *Imagination*. And People began to make their *Observations* also, that though there was *Time* enough allow'd before the *Discovery*, for the *Uttermost Execution* of the whole *Villainy*; there was not so much as an Inch of *Match* found; Not a *Flask* of *Powder*, or a *Dark Lanthorn*, toward the bringing of it to *Effect*: No, not so much as one Snip of a *Letter*, or *Commission*, to uphold the *Credit* of the *Pretence*; so that the *Managers* were exceedingly in the *Right*, under so many *Difficulties* and *Disappointments*, to cast the *Weight* of the *Plot* upon That *Issue*: For the Cry of a *Popish Murther*, and a *Protestant Justice*, at that Time of the Day, was enough to lay the *Three Kingdoms* in *Sackcloth* and *Ashes*; Especially with the *Pulpits*, *Juries*, *News-Letters*, and *Coffee-Houses* to-friend. This was the Reason for That way of Proceeding, and their *Expectations* were not deceived in the Event. To Conclude; as they found it Necessary to link the *Plot* and the *Murther* together;

so they made it, quite throughout, the *Interest* of the *One* to *Assist* toward the *Belief* of the *Other*: And whoever *Disputed* the *Murther*, *Affronted* the *Conspiracy*. Now if a *PLOT* or *NO Plot*, was the *Question*, there needs no more to be said upon the *WHY* and the *WHEREFORE* of the *Bus'ness*, then that the *Whole* was at *Stake* upon *This Cast*. It was next to be Consider'd, *HOW*, i. e. upon what *Pretext*, by what *Means* and *Methods* this *Pretended Murther* was made a *Branch* of the *Pretended Plot*.

It happen'd very Unluckily, that the *Pretended Popish Murther* should fall upon him that took the *Depositions* of the *Pretended Popish Plot*: for it was *This Accident* that gave the *Hint* and *Countenance*, to the *Alliance* that was afterwards *Contracted* betwixt them. The *Fact* was *Evident*, and the *Colour*, *Popular* Enough, to ground an *Imposture* upon: as if the *One* had been the *Provocation*, and the *Other* the *Revenge*. The *Sham* was, at *First*, so *Fair*, and *Specious*; the *Contrivers*, *Promoters*, and *Abettors* of it, so *Industrious*, and *Powerful*, that it went down in the *General*, without *Chewing*; or if it happen'd to stick by the way, People were at their *Choice*, whether they would *Choak*, or have it *Ramm'd* down their *Throats*. It was come to *This*, in short, That a Man might with more *Credit* and *Security* give his *Oath* to *Twenty Palpable Falsehoods*, then *Assert one Generous, Righteous Truth*.

The *First Step* they made, was to gain an *Enformation* of the *Popish Murther*; as a *Point* that could not *Fail* of bringing on an *Enformation* of the *Popish Plot*, in *Course*: for the *Ice* being once broken, the *Two Perjuries*, they knew would be *Both of a Price*. This they foresaw, and *Projected*, and the *Measures* they took did not deceive them. *Bedloe* could not speak one *Word* to the *Plot*, at his *First Coming-in* as a *Witness* to the *Murther*: and *Prance* upon his *First Commitment*,

renounc'd God over and over, if he knew one Syllable, either of the *One*, or of the *Other*. But upon *Second Thoughts*, These Two Discoverers came to see as far into a *Mill-stone* as *Otes Himself*, and set up in a short time for a Pair of *Principal Pillars* of the *Cause*; asw ill appear by the Evidence they give upon the whole Matter.

So soon as those Sparks had deliver'd their Testimony about the *Tragedy of Godfrey*, it was then but *Cross or Pile* whether the *Scene* should open at the *White-Horse* in the *Strand*, or at the *Chappel-Gallery* in *Somerset-House*: Or in few Words, Whether they should carry the *Murther* to the *Plot*, or bring the *Plot* to the *Murther*: For so the *Plot* were in the *Case*, No Matter how it came *Into't*. Briefly, they swore the [*Need-full*] (as they call it) and in *That Oath*, Projected the *Foundations of a New Heaven and a New Earth*.

Their *First Step* (as I said) was, to *Gain* such an *Enformation*: The *Second* was to *Improve* That *Information*, by setting the Stamp of a *Vote* upon it to make it pass *Current* for the *Discovery* of a *Plot*: which was, in *Truth*, a kind of *Naturalization*. The *Third Step* was, to procure an *Order* for the *Seizing* of All the Persons *Nam'd* in such an *Enformation*, as *Parties* to the *Conspiracy*, at which Blessed Rate, it was but saying *WHO and WHO*, to lay the *Three Kingdoms* at the Mercy of *Half a Score Knights of the Post*. After such an *Enformation*, such a *Vote*, such an *Order*, and such a *Seisure*, there follows an *Address*, an *Indictment*, an *Impeachment*, a *Trial*: and, after *That*, a *Verdict*: By Vertue of which *Verdict*, all the Mistakes that led to't are made *Sacred*, and *Authentique*: and *Then's* the *Time* for *Declamatoryes*, and *Exaggerations*; And when the *Conscience*, at Last, the *Wisdom*, and the *Justice* of the Nation, come to be all Concern'd in the *Espousing* of such an *Error*, the Lord have Mercy upon that People, untill *Time*, that is the *Mother of Truth*; and *Experience*, that is the Daughter

Daughter of Time, shall put Mens Heads and Hearts in their Right Places again. There was, in sooth, so much Application, and Artifice us'd, to give This sad Accident the face of a Popish Contrivance, Design, and Execution, that they broach'd the Report of it as a Thing Resolv'd, Pass'd, and Done; even while Sir Edmund was yet living, to prepare People for the Fiction that was to Follow. Of this we shall say something hereafter.

Upon the First Rumour of his being Missing, there were several Surmises, of Fancy, and Conjecture, put about, what might become of him? One while he was Murthered in Arundell House: Another while in My Lord Bellasis Cellar: And then again, the Duke of Norfolk's Coach was seen to come from Prim-rose-Hill the Saturday that he went away: But in fine, Somerset-House was the Place they pitch'd upon; and That They Stuck to; It was but Requisite, that it should be a Popish Place to Answer a Popish Conspiracy; and Reconcile it to a Popish Intelligence. For the Plot was at that Time Almost Cold in the Mouth, and they were fain to take in the Murther to get Credit to the Treason. It was a Thousand Pities, that when the Devil had Furnished them with so plausible an Argument to work upon, they could find no better Pretence for the Strangling of him, then to get the Enformations out of his Hands. Bedloe swears indeed, that They Treated with him about those Enformations, before the Smothering of him [betwixt two Pillows.] But Prance swears that his Bus'ness was done with a [Twisted Handkerchief] without so much as the Ceremony of, by your leave, Sir Edmund; (which was much the Courser way of the Two) But a Note by the By Now; Why should they expect to find the Enformations still in his Pocket, that he had Taken, Some of them, a Fortnight, and Others, Five Weeks before? Or what would it have availed them

them, if they had taken the *Papers* too, when they Dispatched the *Justice*? Could not *Tong*, and *Otes*, (that they left behind them) have Sworn the same Enformations Forty times over again, and have made them Fifty times stronger then they were at First? Beside that they had been in the Kings Hands Already, above *Two Months* before: To draw toward a *Close*, when *Bedloe* had once Declar'd himself for their Turn, they wanted another Witness yet to *Second Bedloe*; but Principally for the Tacking of the *Murther* to the *Plot*; To which End they Swore *Prance* into the *Noose*, and left him This Choice before him, Whether being *Innocent* he would *Confess* Himself to be a *Murtherer*, and so *Scape*; or *Deny* it, and *Hang*: But Charity began at home, and he Chose the *Perjury*. By This Time they were a *Gleek of Knaves* strong, to the *Two Great Points*: and every one of the *Three* Seconded the *Other Two*, both to the *Plot*, and to the *Murther*: which was a Point well enough Order'd, by the Contrivance of making the *same Persons*, (as *Walsh*, *Pritchard*, *Le Phaire*) *Parties* to *Both*.

The *Authority* of This *Imposture* was Established in such a Manner, that there was no Touching the *Murther*, without an Indignity to the *Plot*; nor any Touching the *Plot*, without Grating upon the *Murther*: Nay the *Somerset-House Relation* was held to be so *Authentique*, that there was nothing to be Bated on't, to the very *Spright* and the *Piss-pot*. They had an Excellent way too of Breaking into their *Particulars*, by a Previous Proof of the *General Plot*; which Enrag'd the *Multitude*, before ever they came to the *Cause* in Hand, to such a Degree, that the *Prisoner* at the Barr was as good as *Condemn'd* before he was *Heard*; And *Truss'd-up* by the Sentence of the *Rabble*, for the Sins of his *Fore-Fathers*. This may suffice to shew the *Reason*, and the *Manner* of making *Godfrey's Murther*

a Branch of the Popish Plot. It follows next to see how far Bedloe, and Prance, gave Evidence to them both in one.

CHAP. III.

Bedloe and Prance Swore to the Plot as well as to the Murther.

THE Question is not in This Place, whether Prance and Bedloe, upon the Matter of *Fact*, swore *True* or *False*; but how far they Swore to the *Murther*, and to the *Plot*, Both under *One*; and how far They took upon them to Swear to the *Plot*, over and above the *Murther*; And not to a *Plot* at *Random* neither, but *Catechistically*, (if a Body may so say) to the *Parts*, *Branches*, and *Articles*, *Directly*, or *Indirectly* of Otes's *Narrative*. Every Body knows that Bedloe came-in with a Cry only of *Murther* in his Mouth; but for the *Conspiracy*, he Declared that he knew nothing at all on't; though 'tis likely enough, that another *Five-Hundred-Pound-Proclamation* for the *Discovery* of the *Plot*, might have refreshed his Memory without Need of a *Prompter*. And who knows but his *Compunctions* might have wrought as Heartily upon him, in *That* *Case*, for fear of the *Kings Life*, as his Remorse of *Conscience* did in the *Other*, for the Death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*. But I am now to bring my *Chapter* to my *Text*, and in the First Place to take a short View of the *Evidence* that These Two *Justice-Killers* Deliver'd upon the History of the *Plot*. The Informations I know are *Many*, *Intricate*, and *Tedious*: but a brief *Abstract*

tract of the *Whole* will serve my Present Turn, Every jot as well as Copies at *Large*: So that I shall Content my self to make the Matter as *Short*, and as *Orderly*, as I can, without more Trouble, either to the *Reader*, or to my *Self*, then needs must.

To take the Thrid of the Story along with me, Upon the 5th. of *November*, 1678. Bedloe came from *Bristol*, upon This Adventure, directly for *London*, where he was Examined on the 7th. by the Two Principal Secretaries of State, in the Presence of His Late Majesty, touching the *Murther* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*; Declaring upon his *Oath*, at the same Time, that He could say Nothing at All to the Plot that was Then in Question. And the *Lords Journal* does Effectually hold forth as much as That comes to, upon the said *Examination*.

Nov. 8. 1678.

THe Lord Treasurer Reported by His Majesties Directions, that Yesterday one William Bedloe was examin'd at Whitehall concerning the Discovery of the *Murther* of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that his Majesty had given Order he should be brought to give This House an Account thereof; Who being brought to the Barr, and having his Oath given him, made a Large Narrative to This Effect: That he was born in Monmouthshire, and was of the Church of England till within these Two Years; that by Persuasion, and Promises from the Jesuits, he was drawn over to them; that he is not in Orders: He KNOWS that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered in Somerset-house, &c. *Lords Journal*.

From hence it appears that he had been Examined about the *Murther*, and that he was now to give an account to the Lords of what he knew Concerning that Matter.

Matter : But when his Hand was once In, he was pleas'd, out of a Superabundant Zeal for the Safety of the King and his Government, and for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, to Launch out into the Depths of the Plot, with a New, and Supplemental Evidence: Wherein he says further, that Walsh and Le Phaire Enform'd him, that the Lord Bellassis had a Commission to Command Forces in the North, the Earl of Powis, in South-Wales, and the Lord Arundel of War-der, had a Commission from the Pope to grant Commis-sions to whom he pleased; that Coleman had been a great Agitator in the Design against the King, and that he ask-ing the Jesuits why they had not formerly told him what they had Design'd concerning the Kings Death; they Answer-ed, that None but whom my Lord Bellassis gave Dire-ctions for, were to know it: Desired he might have Time to put the whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun; And being asked, If he knew Titus Otes, he Deny'd it. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678.

But he had a Salvo for This afterwards, which was, that he knew him by the Name of Ambrose, not by the Name of Otes. *Journal* 29. 1678. And such another Fetch he had in the Case of Whitebread: I speak it with a Caution, says he, That I never heard of Whitebread, that he was so very much Concern'd: And indeed I had No Reason to say so, because I heard him my self, and could not so well speak from the Hear-say of Another. Five Je-suits Tryals. P. 32.

Immediately upon This Evidence, an Order was Pass'd to make a Strict Search for Charles Walsh, Le Phaire, and other Suspicious Persons, &c. and an Ad-dress, the Day following for a Proclamation against Conyers, Simmonds, Walsh, Le Phaire, Pritchard, and Cattaway, as Persons Guilty of the Damnable and Hellish Plot, &c.

Nov. 12. 1678. The Lord Marquess of Winton reported, that the Committee appointed to take Examinations for the Discovery of the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, have spent Many days therein, and do present the House Two Examinations of Mr. William Bedloe, and some Examinations of several other Persons. His Lordship said, that the Lords Committees did Conjure William Bedloe to speak Nothing but Truth, and he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgment, assure All to be true he had Depos'd. Lords Journal.

Then the Examinations taken November the 8th. 1678, at the Committee of Lords for Enquiring into the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey were read. Lords Journal.

After he had spoken to the Murther, he proceeds, as before to the Plot; but not without Intermixing here and there a Word, even in the Depositions touching the Murther, that Skew'd upon the Plot too; [There was a Man to be Kill'd, he says, that was a great Obstacle of their Design.] And then he speaks Afterward [Of the Principal Plotters of that Design against the King;] and so Passes-on to his Evidence, about the Conspiracy, under the Title of.

The Further Examinations of William Bedloe being Sworn at the Bar.

THe Monks at Doway told him the Design, he said, and after Four Sacraments of Secrecy, they sent him to Harcourt a Jesuit in Duke-street; who Provided for him, and sent him to Paris, &c. Le Phaire, Walsh, Prichard, and Lewis told him what Lords were to Govern; What Men to be Rais'd; Forty Thousand to be ready in London; What Succours to be Expected; Ten Thousand from Flanders; Twenty or Thirty Thousand Re-
ligious

ligious Men, and Pilgrims, from St. Jago; Hull to be surpriz'd: But just in the Godspeed, the Plot was Discover'd. Le Phaire gave him a Sacrament of Secrecy; They told him Who and Who were to be kill'd; and the Men that were to do the Work. Le Phaire said further, that Conyers was My Lord Bellassis's Confessor, and Communicated his Orders; and that they were resoly'd, if any Plotters were Taken, to Dispatch 'em before they could be brought to a Tryal, or to Burn the Prison. And he Deposes moreover, that Le Phaire, Pritchard, Lewis, Keines, Walsh, and others had often told him, [That there was not a Roman Catholique in England, of any Quality or Credit, but was acquainted with this Design of the Papists, and had received the Sacrament from their Father-Confessors, to be Secret and Assistant in the Carrying of it on. Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678.

On the 18th. of November, 1678. He Deliver'd an Enformation upon Oath concerning the Plot, to the Lord Chief Justice, in the Speakers Chamber, which was in Effect, but so much over again; adding only that the part assign'd him, was to bring and carry Orders and Counsels, and all other Intelligences from One Army to Another, upon All occasions, he knowing every Part and Road of England and Wales.

That about the Latter end of April, or the beginning of May last was a Twelvemonth, about Six a Clock in the Afternoon there was a Consult held in the Chappel-Gallery at Somerset-House, where were present the Lord Bellasis, and, he thinks, the Lord Powis, Mr. Coleman, Le Phaire, Pritchard, Latham, and Sheldon; and Two French-men in Orders, whom he took to be Abbots, and two other Persons of Quality, but did not see their Faces, and Others: Amongst Them, the Queen: And further that Coleman and Pritchard told him, that after the Consult, the Queen Wept at what was propos'd there, but

was Over-perswaded to Consent, by the Strength of Two French-men's Arguments: That he was below walking in the Chappel at the Time of the Consult, with others, &c. That after the Consult, the Queen came through the Room where the Priests Dress'd Themselves, and that he then observ'd some Alteration in her Majesties Council Chamber, Nov. 27. 1678.] And so he runs on into a Ramble of his carrying Letters for France; and Treasonous Discourses betwixt Stapilton and Himself, at Cambray, &c. All of the same Batch with the other.

Presently upon This Enformation, there Follow'd [an Address for Removing the QUEEN, and all her Family, and All PAPISTS, and REPUTED or SUSPECTED Papists from his Majesties Court at Whitehall.] There is one remarkable Deposition yet behind, that was taken before the Council, June 24. 1679. upon the Subject of the Consult last above mentioned; which is not upon any Terms to be Pass'd over, for Reasons to be given hereafter.

He brings the Queen into the Plot of Poysoning the King, her Husband, by the Hand of Sir Geo. Wakenan: And says that [He Himself being the Latter Part of the Last Summer in Harcourt's Chamber, Sir Geo. came in there in a great Huff, saying, Why should I be so Drill'd on, and Slighted, when I have Undertaken so great Work, having been promis'd so many Thousands? &c.] Harcourt thereupon, went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet; which for a While he held in his Hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch That Paper; and thereupon read it to him, and it was a Bill for 2000 l. written by the Queens Order, &c. He also further saith, that when Harcourt shew'd the said Bill for 2000 l. to Sir Geo. Wakenan, in the Deponents Presence, Sir Geo. asked Harcourt, Who the Deponent was? to which, Harcourt reply'd, [Tis one whom we have Entrusted, not in so Great a Work

as Yours, but in a Work next to That, by which he supposed, was meant the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.] Harcourt owning also to Bedloe, that the Great Work was to Poison the King.

He says Moreover, that at a Meeting, where several of them were together, he heard them Express great Dissatisfaction that there had been so many Opportunities lost of Killing the King whilst he was at Windsor, and therefore to repair the same, there went Eight of them after the King to Newmarket; taking Horse from Harcourt's Lodging at Four in the Afternoon, whereof Grove, and Pickering, were Two.

But not to be Endless; I find a Charge of betwixt Thirty and Forty Conspirators, by Name, in his Enformations before the Lords: Beside, Generalities, and Societies. He gives an Account of Commissions in Coleman's Tryal, p. 41. Pritchard told him that Grove and Pickering were to Kill the King. Irelands Tryal, pag. 40. Four Ruffians sent to Windsor. Ibid. And they Missing, Conyers was taken in. Ibid. He tells also of 30000 Masses for the One, and 1500 l. for the Other. P. 43. And that Ireland, Whitebread, and Fenwick were at the Consult. Ib. He saw the Money for the Ruffians. Five Jesuits Tryals, p. 32. Pickering was Disciplin'd for missing Opportunities, fol. 33. Wakeman to have 15000 l. Ibid. Ireland Propos'd the Murther at Newmarket. Ib. Finally, There's little more in Bedloe's Plot-Evidence than an Amusement of Words, Names, Places, and other Circumstances of Things to Jingle with Ores's Narrative, and to make out the Miraculous Harmony, as they call it, of the Kings Witnesses. He tells a Tale of Father Le Chaise, the French King's Confessor, Secretary Coleman, Harcourt, Ireland, Stapilton, Pickering, Grove, Conyers, Whitebread, Father Warner, Sir John Warner, Sir Geo. Wakeman, Duke-street, Somerset-House, Windfor,

Windsor, St. Omers, Watton, Valladolid, St. Jago, Ruffians, Commissions, Poysoning, Groves 15001. Pickering's 30000 Masses, &c. And no more Agreement at last upon the whole matter, then if the Four and Twenty Letters had been thrown in at Hap-Hazzard.

And *Prances Manage* was the very same with *Bedloe* too; only the Other got the start of him, in Time; and had the honour of standing *Ores's* second when the Plot it self must have sunk without *That Supporter*: for *Bedloe* was a Mortal Evidence against *Coleman, Ireland, &c.* The *Five Jesuits, Langhorn, Green, Berry, and Hill, &c.* Whereas *Prance* never open'd his Mouth in a Criminal Cause 'till the Business of *Godfrey*, though they made a shift with him afterward, for a kind of Bungling Evidence against *Ferwick*; And then he came by Degrees to have some Insight into the Plot too; and to hear of *Fifty Thousand Men to be Rais'd*: *Sir George Wakeman's Tryal*, p. 19. *What Lords to Command the Army*, and *what Commissions*, p. 20. And, in a Word, *Who and Who* were to kill the King, and *How* it was to be done. As to Other Particular Charges I refer my self to his Narratives.

CHAP. IV.

Notes upon the Transition of Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, from the Proof of the Murther, to the Witnessing of the Plot.

THE Reader must not Imagine, when he finds the Argument of This Chapter to be [*Notes upon Bedloe's and Prance's Evidence, &c.*] that it is my Purpose to Pick a *Gotham-Quarrell* with every Blunder and Solæcism, in such a *Chance-Medley* of Enformations;

or

or to Enter into a *Captious Scrutiny* upon the whole affair: for my business is not to Expose *simple Oversights, Inadvertencies or Mistakes*; No, Nor, in this Place, so much as to *Cavill* at the *Credit*, and *Authority* of the *Witnesses*, Or to Bear too hard upon the *Unlikelihood* of Things *Affirm'd*, or *Deny'd*; but to lay open the Matter Nakedly as it is represented, and leave the Reader to the Liberty of his own Comment.

The Depositions here in Question, were sworn, either before the *Councill*, the *Lords Committees*, at the *Bar* of the *Lords House*, or given in Evidence at the *Tryalls* of the *Pretended Criminals*. Now to be Fair, they must hold such a Congruity, One part to Another, and every Part to the Whole, as in a Charitable Construction to be found All of a Piece, without any Considerable Variation of the Story, either in *Superfluity* or *Defect*: which is No more then according to the very letter of the *Oath*; to Deliver the *Truth*, the *Whole Truth* and *Nothing But the Truth*: and the Matter still to be the same, in what Diversity of Phrase or Expression soever. 'Tis very remarkable, the Progress of *Bedloe's* openings, or Illumination, into the *Mystery* of This Plot.

Upon the 7th. of November, 1678. he had not so much as the least *Kenning* of it. The 8th. Sprung a Pretty light to't. The 12th. He was as good as *Master* of the *Secret*. The 18, 19, and the 27th, he saw further into't. The 24. June following, [Where his Majesty's Life was concern'd, he must and would speak Truth, he says, Although it was against *HIS OWN DEAR MOTHER*.] and so Charg'd the *Queen*. And as he went further On, he saw Things Clearer and Clearer, and More and More still, though all his Swearing hitherto amounted Only to the keeping of his Faculty in Ure, and his Conscience in Breath. But when he came to *Sharps* afterward, upon *Life and Death*,

there was No avoiding of his Point, for he had still some New way of Attaque or Other that never was heard of before: and against which there was No Place, for either *Prevention*, or *Defence*. He swore then to the *Pris'ner*, rather then to the *Crime*, for there Needed No more then the Clapping of any *Man's Name* to This or That *Article*, or *Accusation*, to the doing of his Business: Though his *Depositions* upon the *Lords Journal*, and Those in the *Printed Tryalls* are in Many Cases Flat *East and West*, One to the Other: But to proceed now from *Reasoning* upon Matters, to the *Fact* it self.

His First appearance upon Oath, was, (as is already set forth), on the 7th. of November, 1678. before his Majesty and his Two Secretaries: at which time, he spake singly to the *Murther*, Disclaiming to any Knowledge at all of the *Plot*. By the *Next day*, he was brought to Understand, that though it was the *Murther* that made the *Noise* in the *Proclamation*, he would yet find the *Discovery* of the *Plot* to be the Nearest way to the *Five-hundred-Pound* that was Promis'd in't; so that on the 8th, he gave the *Lords Committees* a General Touch of the *Popish Lords*; *Commissions*; *Armies* to be rais'd; of [Coleman's being a Great Agitator in the Design against the King] The *Jesuits* in the *Conspiracy*, &c. [Desiring Time to put the Whole Narrative in Writing, which he had Begun.] Now to Explain the Amusement of This Wild, and Uncertain Generality, the Revelation was but of One Days standing; and they had not as yet Time enough to Concert the *Particulars*; so that the Bare Naming of the *Lords*, and their *Commissions*; The very Hinting of *Armies* to be Rais'd, and the simple Mention of Coleman for an *Agitator*, was as much as *Bedloe* durst venture Upon, without further Lights, and Instructions. Coleman's *Accusation* was then upon the Anvil; and the *Plot* the *Ground-Work* of the Whole

Whole Transaction; but there was No want of Heart and good Will; All this While to the Emproving of This Occasion; and his desire of Time, to put the Whole Narrative in Writing, carry'd the very same Countenance, as if he should have said, [*Pray My Lords spare us but Three or Four Days to Confer with the Managers of the Intrigue, and let us alone for a Damnable Hellish Popish Plot, ready Cut and Dry'd, and a Second Witness to support it.* This is so fair, and Reasonable a Gloss upon the Text, That the Lords Committees were not without some Jelousies of it, even in the very First Instance; as appears upon the same Journal, by their asking Bedloe [*Whether he knew Otes or not.*] And why should Bedloe then Deny the knowledge of him, if he had not been Conscious that the Owning of an Acquaintance with him would have made the Evidence smell too Rank of a Confederacy? But to Touch This Matter to the Quick, It will appear by and By upon the Comparing of Notes, and Resemblances that Bedloe and Prance were Initiated into This Mystery by the same Lesson of Instructions; only with This Difference in the Motives to what they did, that the One Forswore himself for Fear, and the Other, for Money.

Bedloe (as I have sayd) gave Evidence to the Murther upon the 7th. of November, 1678. Prance was Committed on Saturday the 21. of December following [*for Assisting in the Murther of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey*] He was Examined the same Night, and stood stiff in't, that he knew Nothing, either of the Death of Godfrey, or of the Popish Plot; and Bedloe was as Positive upon the First Examination, that He knew Nothing of the Plot neither. Now the Plot was a Thing so Necessary, that the Five-hundred-Pound-Murther would not have been worth Fifty Farthings without it: and though the Bait was thrown out for the Discoverers of the Murther,

the

the Anglers were yet secur'd before-hand, that upon a sound Bite, they should draw up a Discoverer of the Plot: for the Matter being Equally Both ways a *Perjury*, the One they knew (as I have noted before) would be as Cheap as the other. They had both of them however, only *One Night*, and no more, to Sleep upon't: And it was Impossible, in that Pinch of Time, to bring their Matters to Agree in Every Point like a Pair of *Tallyes*: And therefore *Bedloe* was fain to Content himself at Present with a *Tale of a Cock and a Bull*, (Just as the Journal sets it forth) without any Pregnancy of *Likelyhoods*, or Particularity of *Circumstances*, to give it *Credit*.

Now *Prance* was upon his Peril to speak out, at *Four-and-Twenty-hours-warning* too; for on the same Day that he was taken up, and Examined, (Damning himself to the Pit of Hell if he knew any thing either of the *Death*, or of the *Plot*) he was Committed to the *Condemn'd Hole* in *Newgate*; Loaden with *Heavy Irons*; And for That Night left to Chew upon't, whether he would venture his *Soul*, or his *Carcass*; (which was the very Choice Before him) In This Condition he lay, both of *Body*, and of *Mind*; till Early next Morning (being *Sunday*) when Up comes a Person to him Wholly Unknown, Layes down a Paper upon a Form just by him, and so goes his way. Soon after This, Comes Another, with a Candle; sets it down, and Leaves him. By the light of that Candle *Prance* read the Paper; Wherein he found the Substance of These Following Minutes.

So many *Popish Lords* mentioned by Name, *Fifty Thousand Men* to be Rais'd; *Commissions* given out; *Officers* Appointed. *Ireland* was acquainted with the *Design*; And *Bedloes Evidence* against *Godfrey*, was Summ'd-up, and Abstracted in it too. There were Suggestions in't, that *Prance* must undoubt-

undoubtedly be Privy to the Plot, with Words to This Purpose [You had better Confess then be Hang'd.] Prance fancy'd This presently to be a Contrivance of Shaftsburyes, and Design'd for Hints of what he was to Swear to. Nowv These vvere the very Points also of Bedloe's Depositions : And as Bedloe vvas to second Oes in the One ; So Prance was to second Bedloe in the Other : Prance Ponder'd for some hours upon the Heads of his Paper and the Circumstances of his Condition ; and what with the Noisomeness of the Place, the Cold of the Season, the Weight of his Chains, the Sense of his Misery ; Want of Health, and the Dread of Death ; upon the laying of things together, he took the right Quene, and desired the Master of the Prison to Carry him to my Lord Shaftsburyes, under Pretence of Matters of Great Moment to Communicate to his Lordship. Captain Richardson gave his Lordship an Account of it, and Thereupon, received [An Order for Bringing of Miles Prance to Shaftsbury-House, to be farther Examin'd.] He vvas Carry'd thither betwixt Five and Six the same Evening, and there Continued till about Eleven that Night. So soon as he came thither, he was Call'd into a Low Parlour where was Shaftsbury (and Three more) And there Examin'd strictly upon the Points of the Paper ; and Threatned with Hanging if he did not Confess. Upon these Menaces, Prance Yielded ; and so fram'd a Pretended Discovery in Part, with a Promise to speak out more at Large, if he might have his Pardon. VWhereupon, there was a Paper drawn up, yvhich Prance Sign'd, and he vvas then return'd to the Place from vvhen he came. By this time they had secured Three Strings to their Bowv ; and it is vvorthy of a Note, that Bedloe and Prance, like a Couple of School-Boys of the same Form, had in Effect the very same Lesson given them, and the very same Allowvance of Time to get it by Heart in.

But

But to come now to the Matter. *Bedloe* was upon his Oath, as I have said Already, to Deliver [*the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.*] And the Lords Committees did over and above Conjure *William Bedloe* to speak *Nothing but Truth*: And [*he did in the Presence of God, as he should Answer it at the Day of Judgement, assure All to be True he had Depos'd.* Lords Journal, Nov. 12. :678.] It was upon the same Terms too, and Under the same Conditions that he gave his Evidence upon all Tryals of the Prisoners in Question. The Next Point will be how far he was True to his Matter, and to Himself, without either Stretching, Shortning, Suppressing, or Clashing with his own Testimony; but with a Charitable Abatement of, and a Christian Allowance still for *Humane Frailty*. The Point in Issue was [*a Plot or No Plot, upon the Life of the King, &c.*] So that all Omissions upon That *Mortal Article*, are Mightily to be suspected of *Malice*, and *Iniquity*, where they carry the Face of a Direct Tendency to *That Execrable End*.

CH A P. V.

Notes upon Certain Omissions, Enlargements, Disagreements, and Contradictions, in the Evidence of Bedloe and Prance concerning the Plot, together with the True Reasons Thereof.

WE have Already given a General, and a Sufficient Account (in the Last Chapter but one) of the Evidences Deliver'd by *Bedloe* and *Prance*, upon the Subject of the *Plot*: And we are now to take into Consideration the Competency, the Fairness, the Fulness,

ness, and the Consistency of Those Depositions. In the First Place, the Omissions, and Enlargements that appear in the several Informations, upon Comparing them One with another. Now this is a Point not to be Cleared, without References, Repetitions, and Recitals: So that there's No help for't, but by making them as Few, and as Short as may be.

1. I find it upon the Lord's Journal, that the Monks of Doway gave Bedloe the Sacrament Four Times, upon a Charge of Secrecy. Nov. 12. 1678.

2. And again: That Bedloe Demanded of Mr. Gage the Rector of the English College, what they would do with the King. He Answered, They would keep him well in a Convent.

3. Bedloe then Demanded who should Govern in Chief; He told him there should be a Tender made to [ONE] of the Crown, if he would Acknowledge it from the Church; but they did believe he would not Accept of it, and then the Government should be left to some Lords that the Pope would appoint; which Lords he would not tell me, but said, I should know it from the Monks at Paris. Lords Journal, Ib.

4. He says again in the same Deposition as is Already hinted in the Third Chapter, Who were to Govern, Who Told him so. Ten Thousand from Flanders to Land at Bridlington-Bay. The Lord Powes, Petres, &c. to Rendezvous in South-Wales with Another Army, and They to Joyn Twenty or Thirty Thousand more, that were to Land at Milford Haven from the Groin in Spain, which Army was to be [RELIGIOUS] Men and [PILGRIMS] from St. Jago in Spain, &c. Lords Journal, Ibid.

5. Forty Thousand Men ready in London, Beside Those that would on the Alarm be Posted at Every Ale-House Door, to have Kill'd the Soldiers as they went out of their Quarters.

6. Le Phaire told him also that when any Plotter was taken up, he should be kill'd before he was brought to his Tryal, or the Prison Burnt.

7. And That Guernsey and Jersey were to be surpriz'd by a Power from Brest, and other Places of France; and that several French Ships have lay in, and about the Channel All This Summer upon the same Occasion.

8. And further, Le Phaire, Pritchard, &c. (as before) had often told him that there was not a Roman Catholique in England that was not Privy to the Design, and had not Received the Sacrament from their Father Confessors to be secret, and assistant to the carrying of it on.

To Pass a Note or Two upon the Particulars above, they are of so great Importance to be Thoroughly Sifted, and made out, that the Plot it self, the Credit, and the very Being of it, stands, or falls, upon the Truth or Falsity of these Enformations. But the Stress does not lye so much upon True or False, as whether this be the Whole Truth, or Not; For All these Heads, and Circumstances of the Story upon the Lords Journal (and the Four Evangelists over and above) are utterly Forgotten in the Evidence, upon the Tryal of the Pris'ners. Now if Bedloe Deliver'd the Whole Truth at First, how came he afterwards to Enlarge his Evidence?

But to Expound this Riddle now; he swore before the Lords to the Generals only of Otes's Plot; for Otes himself was not yet Resolv'd upon the Particulars: So that which way soever Titus Led, William was bound to Follow; and the Point of his Oath in Westminster-Hall was not Levell'd at the Plot it self, but at the Persons of the Pretended Conspirators.

Now to trace Things in order as they lye before us: We hear Nothing of Four Sacraments; The Convent; The Tender of the Crown, and the Pope's Resolution

lution upon't; The Ten Thousand, and the Twenty or Thirty Thousand, the Pilgrims, and the Religious; The London Forty Thousand; The Posting of People at Ale-House Doors; The Killing of Plotters, or the Burning of Prisons; The Surprizing of Guernsey and Jersey; Every Roman Catholique of Quality under a Sacrament to serve the Design. We have not one Syllable of All this, in the Printed Tryals, though upon the same Oath, and from the same Lips that swore to the Whole Truth upon the Lords Journal. But here's the Scheme of Otes's Plot yet, upon the whole Matter. And then for the Tender of the Crown, as it is Pointed at in the Third Article, it is so exactly the Drift, and the Case of a Whimsy, set forth in Otes's Narrative, only in other Words, viz.

The Pope hath ordered (says Otes) That in case the Duke of York, (which is the [O NE] he speaks of) will not accept these Crowns as forfeited by his Brother unto the Pope, as of his Gift; and settle such Prelates and Dignitaries in the Church, and such Officers in Commands and Places, Civil, Naval, and Military, as he hath Commissioned as above, Exirpate the Protestant Religion, and in Order thereunto, Ex post Facto, consent to the Assassination of the King his Brother; Massacre of his Protestant Subjects; Firing of his Towns, &c. by Pardoning the Assassins, Murtherers, and Incendiaries, that then [HE] be also Poysoned, or Destroyed, after they have for some time abus'd his Name, and Title, to strengthen their Plot; Weakned and Divided the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, thereby, in Civil Wars and Rebellions, as in his Fathens Time, to make way for the French to seize These Kingdoms, and totally ruine their Infantry, and Naval Force. Otes's Narrative, p. 64.

This Paragraph comprizes in few Words a General View of the whole Project; and it was but Swearing fo many Men to such and such Parts and Offices in this

this Fiction of a Conspiracy, to Compleat the Reputation of the Discovery: that is to say, some were to have *Publique Charges* and *Commissions*; Others to carry on the *Massacres*, *Murthers*, *Assassinates*, *Poysoning*, and *Conflagrations*; And after the Digesting of the *Treasons*, they could not well fail of Discovering the *Traytors*, especially when the *same Oath* that made the *One* made the *Other*.

It is not to be Imagin'd, that *Bedloe*, upon his repeated Oaths, before the King and the Lords, could Honestly forget so many remarkable Instances, of *Men*, and *Things*, as he calls Afterwards to Mind, and upon Recollection, swears to, over and above what he had sworn before. And it is a Thing no less Remarkable, that he should upon the *Following Tryals*, Forget so many *Capital*, and *Dangerous Articles* of the *Plot*, as he had formerly sworn before the King and the Lords; and the *Omissions*, all the while, as *Essential* to the Matter in hand, in *one Place*, as in the *other*. But This Wonder will Cease, if a Man Rightly Considers what the Points are that are *omitted* in the *One*, and *supply'd* in the *Other*; and the Relation which they Respectively had to the *Design* that was Then in *Agitation*. While the *Plot* was *General*, the *Enformation* must be *General* too; and *Bedloe* did as much as Man could do, upon *Bare-four-and-twenty-Hours-time*, toward the Tuning of his *Depositions* to the *Narrative*; which was all he had to Work upon at Present: But *New Lords New Laws*; and when *Otes* came to Charge *Particular Persons* upon the Strength and Foundations of That *General Model*, *Bedloe* was no longer at Liberty to Steer his own Course, but Ty'd up too swear in a Conformity to *Otes's Measures*: So that *Bedloe* must have *Divin'd*, before the *Lords*, to *Hit* the *Evidence*, that in the *Future*, would be *necessary* at the *Trials*. As for the Purpose now, to Begin with *Coleman*.

He

He Carry'd a Pacquet, he says, from Mr. Coleman to Monsieur Le Chaise; and that he heard Coleman say, If he had an Hundred Lives, and a Sea of Bloud to carry on the Cause, he would spend it all to further the Cause of the Church of Rome, and to establish the Church of Rome in England; And if there was an Hundred Heretical Kings to be Depos'd, He would see them All Destroy'd. This he swears was spoken in his own House behind Westminster-Abbey at the Foot of the Stair-Case. *Colemans Tryal*, pag. 43, 44. [They were carrying-on a Plot, he says, to Destroy the King, and the Lords of the Council, p. 44.] Now there's not one Word either of Le Chaise, or of This Matter, to be found in the *Lords Journal*: Nor any thing more of Coleman, then that he had been a Great Agitator in the Design against the King, Nov. 8. 1678. Under which Generality, Bedloe, sav'd to himself a kind of Right to say more afterwards, as he should come to be further Enlightn'd, and better Enform'd: For Bedloe, in short, was no other then Otes's Eccho; and His Bus'ness, no more, in Effect, then to take the same Oath that the Foreman had done. In one Word, as there is a most Extravagant Difference betwixt his Depositions before the King and the Lords, and Those against the suppos'd Plotters, at the Kings Bench; so the Reason of it is obvious, for he is forced to stretch his Latter-Evidence against the Pris'ners, where his Former Deposition would not Reach them.

In the Tryals of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, Otes swears a Consult in August, 1678. at Harcourts Chamber; Ireland present at it; Grove and Pickering appointed to kill the King; the One to have 300000 Masses, if he Miscarry'd, and the Other 150000. Upon their Failing, Four Russians were hired to do it at Windsor: Coleman gave a Messenger a Guinnea to carry them their Money. Fogarthy, Ireland, Grove, and Pickering were

present at the Resolution; and if all Fail'd, Sir Geo. Wakeman was to do the Work by Poyson, the very Price agreed upon, and Part of the Money Receiv'd, &c. Now there's not one Syllable of All This in Bedloe's Evidence upon the Lord's Journal; No not so much as the NAME of Corker, Fogarthy, Fenwick, Grove, Pickering, and yet Bedloe, upon the Tryal, sets up for Otes's Second to every Point; and the Disagreement leads still to the Hanging of the Pris'ner.

And so again in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. He brings in Whitebread for sending the Four Russians to Windsor: Coleman's Guinea given to drink his Health; The 1500 l. again, and the 30000 Masses. Pickering is Disciplin'd for the Neglect of his Flint. Once he had no Powder in the Pan; Another Time no Powder in the Barrel: Wakeman's 15000 l. The King to be kill'd at Newmarket, Conyers taken in for an Assistant. But to conclude, there's not one Word of All This neither, nor so much as the Name of Whitebread, and several other of the Pris'ners, upon the Lord's Journal.

'Tis the same Case again with him upon the Tryals of Sir Geo. Wakeman, William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker, where he Charges Keines, and Corker, with Discourse about Raising an Army, KILLING, and DESIGN. He makes Marshal one of the Club, and runs through the whole History of Sir Geo. Wakeman. This was, July 18. 1679. And the Particulars were never so much as thought of, till his Deposition before the King and Council of June 24. then last past, when he was preparing for That Jobb.

He took the same Measures too, in the Bus'ness of Langhorn. Le Chaise told him, he says, of Mony to be remitted into England; and that he had remitted some of it to Coleman, and Ireland, p. 21. and he speaks of Three Letters that he saw Langhorn Transcribe; One to the English Monks at Paris; Another to Mon-

sieur

ſieur Le Chaiſe; Another to the Popes Nuncio, p. 53. This is All New Matter, Newly Accommodated to the Evidence of *Otes*; and the Caſe of the Priſ'ner, without one Word of it in his Original Diſcovery.

It would be Endleſs to take All his Evidences to Pieces, and to Confront one Teſtimony with Another: but one Inſtance may ſerve for the Meaſure of All: That is to ſay, his Additions are ſtill, *Stabbing*, if not *Mortal*; and Adapted to the Caſe, without any regard to the Truth.

As for *Miles Prance*, he was under the ſame Government alſo, with his Brother *Bedloe*; only coming in Late, he had not ſo much occaſion to ſhew his Parts; but he ſerv'd as well as the Beſt however, for a General Plot-man. He made ſeveral Proffers yet at the Helping out of the Conſpiracy, though to little or no Purpoſe; only in the Caſe of *Fenwick*, he had the Honour to paſs, with *Otes*, and *Bedloe*, for a Third Witneſs. His was only a dull kind of *Hackney-Story* ſtill; that Mr. Meſſenger was to Kill the King. 50000 Men to be rais'd; The Popiſh Lords to Command them; *Fenwick*, *Ireland*, and *Grove*, ſpoke of this Together; *Harcourt* ſaid the King was to be kill'd by ſeveral; and *Fenwick* ſaid that *Langhorn* was to have a great hand in't. *Langhorn's Tryal*, fol. 8. He brought in All the Roman Catholics he could Name, for an Appendix, 'tis true, but made Little on't, and order'd his Matters all the way with an Eye to his *Fiſt Paper*.

Upon the whole matter, Right or Wrong, here's Perjury without Diſpute, either for not ſwearing the Whole Truth at Firſt, or for ſwearing More then the Truth, afterward; and the Preſumption of the Perjury is ſo much the ſtronger, in Regard that almoſt All the Diſcrepancies, and Additions in the Evidence upon the Tryals, are Expreſſly Calculated, (as I have Already obſerv'd) for the Deſtruction of the Priſ'ners: And This

is not All Neither ; for *Bedloe* lyes much opener in his *Disagreements* and *Contradictions*, then he does in his *Omissions* and *Supplements* ; though it is Manifest, well-nigh to a *Demonstration*, that all his *Capital Oaths* were Apply'd only to the Serving of a *Turn*. And so I shall go on with him upon the two *Latter Points*.

He swears before the *Lords*, that the *Army* of *Twenty* or *Thirty Thousand Men* who were to Land at *Milford Haven* from the *Groin*, was to be *Religious Men* and *Pilgrims*, from *St. Jago* in *Spain*. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 12. 1678. But then in *Langhorn's Tryals*, He Swears, That they had provided in *Spain*, under the *Notion* of *Pilgrims* from *St. Jago*, some *Irish Catholick Soldiers*, that had left their *Country*, some for *Religion*, and some for their *Crimes*, and a great many *Lay-Brothers*, whom they had procur'd and gathered together, under the *Notion* of *Pilgrims*, to be ready to take *Shipping* at the *Groin*, to Land at *Milford-Haven*, There to meet my *Lord Powis*, and an *Army* that he was to raise in *Wales* to further this *Design*, fol. 20.

In a *Deposition* before the *Lords*, he swears himself to have been of the *Church of England*, till within These *Two Years* ; That by *Perswasion* and *Promises* from the *Jesuits*, he was drawn over to them. *Lords Journal*, Nov. 8. 1678. But upon the *Tryal* of *Ireland*, he Swears, That he had been *Five Years* almost Employed by the *Society of Jesuits*, and the *English Monks* at *Paris*, to carry and bring *Letters* between them, &c. Fol. 37.

In the *Tryal* of *Coleman* : Being Interrogated what he had seen or heard touching any *Commission* to *Mr. Coleman*, he gives This Answer, [In particular I know not of any *Commission* directed to *Mr. Coleman*. I do not know any thing of it but what *Sir Henry Tichborn* told me, that he had a *Commission*, and he brought a *Commission* for *Mr. Coleman*, and the rest of the *Lords*, from
the

the Principal Jesuits at Rome, by order of the Pope, &c. fol. 41. The Title of it I do not know, because I did not see it: But then in Langhorn's Tryal; being asked where he saw Certain Commissions there in Question, His Answer was This, Sir Henry Tichborn did shew me Three Commissions in Paris, sign'd by the General of the Order, and Seal'd with the Jesuits Seal.

Not to Multiply Instances, One more upon This Subject shall serve for All.

Sir George Wakeman was to come to his Tryal on the 18th. of July, 1679. The Five-Jesuits-Trial (as they call it) having been on the 13, and 14. of the June before: And it was then High Time to Adjust their Matters towards That which was to Follow. The Evidence that was given by Bedloe, at the Jesuits Trial of June 13, 14. concerning the Queens being in a Practice with Sir George to Poyson the King, gave occasion to a further Examination of him before the Council, on the 24. of the same Month; which was Introduced with a Preface remarkable, and in These following Words, truly Copy'd, and strictly Examined, from and by the Original; every Page Attested by his own hand.

At the Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.

MR. Bedloe being Call'd in and Sworn, is told that his Majesty had appointed This Council to know the Bottom of all That Danger that might Concern his own Person, and in Particular what he could say touching the Queen's being in any Measure Privy to it; And if she were Concern'd therein, the Danger was so much the Greater as she is near to his Majesty; so that it would not without the Utmost Peril be Conceal'd by any; Yet that if he had any New Matter to declare, the Concealment of it should not be Penal unto him; And therefore, that he should, up-

on his Allegiance, speak out, Fully, and Plainly, without respect to any Person whatsoever: (which he might do with All Freedom and Safety) And not only for what Concern'd the Danger of the King's Life, but the Plot in General against the Government, and the Murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.

After the Flam of the Chappel-Gallery-Consult, and the Cambray-Adventure, he comes to his Point, and Deposes, [that Sir George Wakeman coming to Harcourt's Chamber with a Complaint that they had not kept Touch with him, Harcourt told him he had not so much reason to Complain, for he was provided for; and thereupon went and took a Paper out of his Cabinet, which, for a While, he held in his hand, telling him he had been at Whitehall to Fetch that Paper; and thereupon read it to them, and it was a Bill for Two Thousand Pounds, written by the Queen's order. Council Chamber, June 24. 1679.

The Deponent further sayth, that when Harcourt shew'd Sir George Wakeman the said Bill, he said, This indeed is something, but when shall I have the rest? Harcourt Answer'd he should have Five Thousand Pounds in Due Time, and also Ten Thousand more, and that the Two Thousand Pounds was only for his present Supply] And sayth, that Pritchard told him afterward, that it was for Poysoning the King; and Harcourt likewise owned the same. Ib.

And saith, that when Harcourt shew'd the said Bill, for Two Thousand Pounds to Sir George Wakeman in the Deponents Presence, Sir George asked Harcourt who this Deponent was? To which, Harcourt replyed, he is one we have Entrusted; not in so great a Work as Yours, but in a Work next to That; by which he supposes was meant the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey.] Ib.

We shall now see how his Depositions before the Council

Councill as to this Point, Agree with the Evidence he gave at the Five Jesuits, and Langhorn's Tryal.

Sir George Wakeman, he says, received a Bill of Exchange from Mr. Harcourt, and he was told, here is a Bill of Exchange for 2000 l. as part of a greater Summ, To which Sir George Wakeman Answered: that 15000 l. was a small reward for the settling of Religion, and preserving the Three Kingdoms, &c. Five Jesuits Tryal, p. 35. And after he had given Sir George Wakeman the Bill, Sir George Wakeman open'd it, and Read it. Ib.]

And then in the next Page, says Bedloe, I did only [see] the Bill out of Mr. Harcourt's hand: but it was [Read] There only by Sir George Wakeman. In fol. 36. Sir George Wakeman Receiv'd the Bill of Exchange from Mr. Harcourt, he Read it Himself, Folded it up, and went and Received the Mony.

Note here, that before the Council, [HARCOURT] Read it; but in the Jesuiss Tryal, [WAKEMAN] only Read it. In the former, the Two Thousand Pounds was for Sir Georges Present Supply; In the Latter, it was as Part of a greater Summ. In the Former, Sir George seem'd well enough Content with the 15000 l. In the Latter, he thought it too Little. Nay in fol. 35. Sir George open'd it, which Implies, it was Then Folded; and yet fol. 36. Sir George Wakeman Folded it up, not Folded it up Again: But Barely [Folded it up,] which looks as if it had not been Folded before.

In Sir George Wakeman's Tryal, he says, that Sir George Wakeman Fetch'd a Turn or Two about the Room, seeming Angry, and Discontented, and asked Harcourt if he had any Thing for him? Then Harcourt asked him how he did Proceed? sayd he, I don't know whether I shall or No, &c. fol. 31. with That, Harcourt, went to his Cabinet and took out Five or Six papers, and brought a

Small Bill, &c. Ib. (of 2000 l.) Well, says Sir George, I will go and see if the Bill be accepted, and you shall hear of me to Night. And Bedloe met him Presently after, and Sir George told him it was accepted, and that he was to go in the Afternoon to Receive it, Ib. Soon after This, He is Call'd upon to go over with This Part of his Evidence again, fol. 46. and There we have him searching among his Bags, and finding a Little Note among them. And the Relation Effectually to be quite Another Thing.

He is Now got into Clear Another story than the Two Former; for there was no such Question as [*Have you any Thing for Me?*] No such Peevishness, or Hesitation, as [*I don't know whether I shall or No*] In One Deposition, Five or Six Papers taken out of the Cabinet, Whereas in the other Depositions, there's mention made only of One. Nor is there any Talk of Acceptance or Payment.

There remains Yet Another scruple with a respect to the Timing of This action, which is Never to be Reconcil'd. He makes it before the Council, to have been the Latter part of the last Summer, i. e. 1678. That This Meeting was in Harcourt's Chamber [*It was (I think, says He) about the beginning of August. Sir George Wakeman's Tryal, fol. 37.*] But being Press'd afterward by Sir George Wakeman in These words [*What Day was it, that I had the Discourse with Harcourt, and Received the Bill from him, as You say?*]

[*Mr. Bedloe*] To satisfie you as well as I can, I say it was the Beginning of August, or Part of the Beginning. I do not speak to a Day, p. 40.

So that according to Bedloe's Oath before the Council, of June 24. 1679. Mr. Harcourt gives Sir George Wakeman a Hint, which Bedloe Understood to be Meant of his being Employ'd to kill Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and Bedloe looks the same way in his Evidence at Sir George Wakeman's Tryal. Sir George asked of Harcourt (says

(says he) *Who I was?* Said he, 'Tis a Friend, that hath been long Engaged in our Bus'ness, and is to do the Next Great Work to Yours. Fol. 37.

Now upon the Upshot of the Matter, Bedloe swears that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murthered because of Tong's and Otes's Enformations that he had Taken: and Bedloe was Employed at the Beginning of August to Destroy Godfrey, for having Taken those Enformations, which he never Took, nor ever so much as heard of, till the Sixth of the Following September.

His Swearing Off and On in the Case of Whitebread and Fenwick, was a Notable Cast of his Faculty too; that is to say, They, being upon their Tryals with Ireland, Grove, and Pickering, Bedloe declares, that [he does not Charge any Man but them Three] and when he was told by the Court, [What he said was not any Evidence against Whitebread:] and demanded what he could say as to Fenwick: his Answer was in These words, [No more then as I have to Mr VWhitebread. Irelands Tryal, fol. 42.] But This Notwithstanding Whitebread and Fenwick were remanded back to the Goale, by reason that Otes's Testimony was so Full: It being Insisted on, That the King having sent forth a Proclamation for further Discovery, there was [No Question made, but that before the Time therein prefixed should come out, there would come in more Evidence. Ib. pag. 56.]

This was at the Sessions-House at the Old-Bayly; December 17. 1678. where They were brought upon their Tryals again on the 13. and 14. of June, 1679. at which Tryal, Bedloe Charged Whitebread upon the Matter of the Four Ruffians that were sent to Windsor about September, fol. 32. and Whitebread, and Fenwick, Both, with being Privy and Consenting to the Practice, fol. 33. Bedloe's Evidence pass'd for Currant, notwithstanding

standing his former Declaration; and upon the Summing of it up, *Prance* was also accounted upon as a Third Witness.

CH A P. VI

An Abstract of the Evidence that Bedloe gave concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. First, before the Lords House, the Lords Committees, and the King and Council. 2ly. Upon the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill, in the Court of the Kings Bench: With Notes upon the Whole.

THE Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey being found, a View pass'd upon it, and a Verdict deliver'd up; It Behov'd the Witnesses (whether they were True or False) to keep close to the Circumstances of the Fact that was before them: And therefore, since a *Malicious Murther* it Vvas to be, There must be some *Provocation* Thought upon, or *Presum'd*: *Hands* found out to *Execute* it; a *Place* Convenient for the *Action*; some *Way* or other Propos'd for the *Doing* of it; and then some *Means* or other for the getting of the Body out of the *Way* when the Deed was done. This Train of *Fore-cast*, brings us Decently to *Primrose-Hill*; and whether he went Thither by *Horse*, *Chair*, *Litter*, *Coach*, or *Waggon*, it Matters not a Single Marque, Provided there be a *Decorum* in the Story; and that the Thing be done *A-Gods-Name*, as they say, and without the Help of *Spirits*, or *Art Magick* to Convey him Thither. The Next Point to be consulted, is the *Position* of the Body in the *Ditch*; The *Sword*, the *Bruiſes*,

Bruiſes, the *Circles* about the *Neck*, and Finally, the *Linnen Cloth* that he was *Strangled* with; which will all be taken into Consideration in Due Time and Place. As to the *Viſible Matter of Fact*, it ſtands good and agree'd upon at All hands, That is to ſay, the *Death*; the *Finding* of the *Body*; the *Place* where he was found; the *Date When*; the *Time* and the *Manner* of *Removing* it; the *Summoning* of a *Jury*; the *View*, the *Debate*, and the *Verdict*. But for what lay out of Sight, it muſt be left either to *Further Discovery*, or to *Conjecture*: Though in a *Made-story* as This was from the Beginning, That which was well *Fancy'd* was well *Prov'd*: And no doubt but *Bedloe* and *Prance* would have made *More* on't, if they had but been aware time enough of the *Bleſſings* Heaven had in ſtore for them; and that the *Fates* had *Design'd* them one day for *Supporters* of a *Glorious Church* and *State*. They made a Shift however to draw *Blood*, and at *That Time*, and in *That Cauſe*, the *Speaking Head* might have done as much. The Miſchief was, that *Bedloe's Bolt* was Shot ſo long before *Prance* appear'd; And that notwithstanding the *General Lights* given to *Prance* about *Godfrey* and *Bedloe*, in the *Newgate-Paper* heretofore ſpoken of, he was yet left *Miſerably* in the *Dark*, how to put Things and Things together, toward the *Formalizing* of a *Story*. He very well knew, upon the *Main*, that *Godfrey* was to be *Kill'd* at *Somerſet-Houſe*; and the *Papiſts* to do it; but upon what *Provocation*; to what *End*; how to get him *Thither*; In what *Part* of the *Houſe*; and in what *Manner* it was *Done*; and what *Numerical Perſons* were to do it; How to *Diſpoſe* of the *Body* from *Place* to *Place*; *When*, and *which way* to get it *Out*; His *Inſtructions* were ſhort, and nothing but pure *Dint of Forehead* to bear him out in the *Hiſtory*: This may ſerve for a kind of *Apology* for their *Blunders* in the *General*, but we ſhall now look into the
Merits

Merits of the Cause, upon a Sober and Candid View of their Evidence in Particular.

Bedloe's Evidence before the Lords, as it stands upon the Journal, Friday, Nov. 8. 1678, was Briefly This.

He [KNOWS] that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House, on Saturday, by Charles Walsh and Le Phaire, Jesuits: and by Two Lay-men. He saw the Body after it was Murthered, and before it was carry'd out; and Le Phaire told him he was Stifled between Two Pillows; and he was offered Two Thousand Guineas to be one of the Three to carry out the Body; which was kept either in the Room, or the next where the Duke of Albermarle lay in State; that the Chair-men who carry'd out the Body, on Monday Night at Nine of the Clock, are Retainers to Somerset-House, but he knows them not: He saith that Walsh, Le Phaire, and Pritchard told him, that the Lord Bellasis Employ'd them in This Bus'ness.]

Upon his Examination before the Lords on the Tuesday following, He calls to Mind, that He was offered Four Thousand Pound to be one of the Four, or Six, that should kill him, which he promised to do, but Saunter'd up and down, to Grays-Imm-Walks, Fleetstreet, Red-Lyon-Court, Palsgrave-Head Tavern, Somerset-House-Court, &c. and was none of the Man at last, either to kill, or to carry away; but tells a Story how he saw the Body; and Le Phaire, V Walsh, Beeston, Atkins, and one belonging to the Queens Chappel in the same Place with the Body.] So that by this Time, he had made a kind of an Ambling Story on't. [They Agreed, he says, to carry him in a Chair to Clarendon-House-Corner, and there to put him in a Coach, to carry him to the Place where he was found; and having concluded This, they agreed to carry him off at

Eleven o'Clock of the same Night.] But now to the Timing of the Bus'ness.

Bedloe Swears that betwixt Eight and Nine at Night, Le Phaire and He met in the Cloyster at Somerset-House Court, and pass'd the Time there about Half an Hour. After This, they walked into the Middle of the Court to be out of Hearing; and Le Phaire told him, that the Person whom he was to kill was kill'd already, and his Body then in Somerset-House; but he should still have half the Reward, if he would help to Carry the Body to a Place where they had chose to lay him. Bedloe asked who should go with him; and Le Phaire Named himself for one; Mr. Walsh the Lord Bellassis's Gentleman, Mr. Atkins, and one that belonged to the Queens Chappel. Le Phaire then brought him by the Hand in the Dark, led him into the Room where the Body was, and then pull'd a Dark Lanthorn from under his Coat, and shew'd a small light in the Room, where Bedloe saw the Persons before Named, &c. After This, they Debated how to carry him out, and to what Place; and Agreed upon the Hour of Eleven That Night, (as is said already.) Some further Chat they had about the Person that was Murthered, but Bedloe Excusing himself for One Half Hour, gave them the Slip, and came no more that Night. Le Phaire Meeting him the Next Day, told him that the Person was Justice Godfrey, and how they got him to Somerset-House, and where they found him, viz. That He Himself, Walsh, and the Lord Bellassis Gentleman met him by the Kings-head-Inn in the Strand, Crossing of the Street, about Five of the Clock; and told him, that if he would please to go with them so far as Strand-Bridge, they would bring him to a Place near St. Clements Church, where there were a Company met; Principal Plotters of [That Design against the King] and There (if he would go presently) he might Take them, and the Principal of their Papers, &c.] To shorten the Matter; Godfrey offered his Warrant and a Constable; but was loath to go Himself

self, though they got him at last into Somerset-House Court; While Somebody was gone as pretended to fetch a Constable; and after a Turn or Two, there came Two Persons more, and shov'd him into a Room; Presented a Pistol to shoot him, if he made a Noise; but if he would Answer their Expectation, they would do him no Harm; and so they bad him send for the Examinations. He sayd he had them not; and upon Refusal, they seiz'd, and stifled him with a Pillow; but finding sometime after that he was not quite Dead, they strangled him with a Long Crevat, which Crevat Bedloe saw the Munday Night about his Neck; Le Phaire telling him further, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and layd his Sword by him, as if he had kill'd himself.

I shall only Note upon the Enformations above, that if Bedloe had stuck in his Second Deposition to the Offer of Two Thousand Pound in the Former, to help carry away the Body, without Clapping in Four Thousand Pound Extraordinary, to be One of the Four, or Six, that should commit the Murther, the Story would have hung never the worse together; for when his Hand was in, upon the Reward, 'Twas a wonderful Thing how he should remember the Two Thousand, and forget the Four; and then the Carrying out of the Body at Nine of the Clock in his Deposition of Friday, Nov. 8. And the Resolution of not Carrying it out 'till Eleven, in his Deposition of the Tuesday following; This Stumble, I say, has knockt the History quite out of Joynt; for it could not be less then Ten at the rate of his Second Enformation, when they came to a Resolution of carrying the Body off at Eleven. Whereas he swears Positively in the Former, that it was Carry'd away at Nine, and yet in the Tryal, fol. 34. He Swears that [He saw it there after Nine.] There was an unlucky Oversight too in the Wording of the Pretence; when Le Phaire
and

and his Fellows were to Trepan Godfrey into Somerset-House, under the Colour of a Meeting thereabouts of [the Principal Plotters in] [That Design against the King.] And why That Design, to a stranger? when the Demonstration is Nonsense, where the Two Parties to the Colloquy do not Mutually Understand One Another. If Godfrey knew the Persons, 'tis odds he knew their Religion, and their Character; and would never have been put upon, by known Jesuits for the Discoverer of the Conspiracy.

Here's the Summ now of the Depositions above; but the Evidence that he gave upon the Tryals of Green, Berry and Hill, Feb. 10. 1678. was briefly This.

Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, &c. Treated with Bedloe about Murthering a Gentleman; Promising him both Assistance, and Reward. Tryal, fol. 28. He was set to make an Acquaintance with Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and Ply'd him at his House for six or seven Days together, on Pretence of getting Warrants against Persons, when there were None such, for their good Behaviour. He sent his Boy from the Grey-hound Tavern in the Strand, October 11. to have gotten Godfrey over to him. He had then Five Jesuits in his Company; but Missing him at Home, Bedloe and Two of the Jesuits, Le Phaire, and Walsh, went into the City. Greens Tryal, p. 29. Le Phaire came to his Chamber next Morning, and Miss'd him, but by accident they Met about Four, Afternoon, in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; went to the Palsgraves Head together; and there told Bedloe of a very Material Man that was to be put out of the way That Night; for he had gotten All Otes's and Tong's Enformations; And if he were not Dispatched, it would Endanger the Design. Bedloe said, he should need to be well seconded. And asking about the Mony, Le Phaire told him the Lord Bellasis was Engag'd for't, and Coleman had order to Pay it. The Summ was 4000 l. Bedloe Promis'd to Meet him at Somerset-house That Night;

but fail'd him, fol. 30.] and saw him No more 'till he met him next Night in Red-Lyon Court, where he put his Cane to his Nose, for a Hint to Bedloe, that he was to Blame not to keep his Promise. They went together to the Grey-Hound Tavern in Fleet-street, where they appointed to Meet at Nine that Night, at Somerset-House. Bedloe met him Exactly at the Time, when they Walk'd and Talk'd a Great While; Le Phaire telling him, that he was Murther'd; and offer'd him Half yet to Help Carry him off: and so (says Bedloe) he took me by the hand, and led me into the Room thorough a Dark Entry. In the Room were a Great many: I can't tell who they All were [Mr. Justice Jones] VWhat kind of Light had they Mr. Prance? [Mr. Prance] It was a Middle-siz'd Lanthorn. [Mr. Just. Jones] VWas it a small Light or a great Light? [Mr. Bedloe] It was a small Light. [Mr. Just. Jones] Had they No Light but that Lanthorn? [Mr. Bedloe] No, and they did not open it 'till I had had a Turn about the Room. Upon this, They Threw off the Thing that was layd upon Him, fol. 31. and Bedloe knew him; And he had about his Neck such a kind of Crevat (says he) as This about my Neck, and I went to Try and could not get my Finger in betwixt. Bedloe would have had Weights Ty'd to his Head and Feet, and Thrown him into the River. No, say'd they, We will put it upon Himself, there are None but Friends Concern'd. So they Resolv'd to put him in a Chair, and Berry the Porter should sit up to let them out at the Gate. They told me (says Bedloe) they had strangled him, but how he did not know. They Press'd Bedloe to help Carry him out; but he Excus'd himself, and said it was too Early, and that about Eleven, or Twelve a Clock would be a Better Time: So Bedloe promising Le Phaire upon the Sacrament he took on Thursday, to be at the Carrying of This Man That Night, he got away. [fol. 32.] He went then to Bristoll, but very Restless, and Disturb'd in his Mind, 'till at last he could forbear
Discovery

Discovery no longer ; and so he wrote to the Secretary of it, and went to the Parliament, and gave in his Enformation.

One Day (says Mr. Bedloe) I met with Prance in the Lobby.

[Mr. Attorney General] I will ask you one Question : Had you any Discourse with Mr. Prance Between the time you saw him with the Body, and the Day he was Apprehended ?

It is to be Noted here, that Bedloe had said Nothing at All as Yet of seeing Prance with the Body ; but it was found a Necessary Tack for the Holding of the Story Together, That the Two Chief Murtherers should be brought Acquainted.

Bedloe says further, he saw Green about the Court, and was told that Berry was to open the Gate ; but he did not see Hill. Prance, he says, was taken up upon Suspicion, for lying out of his Lodging ; and when he was There, in the Constable's Hands, Otes came by and Desired to see him, and presently after He Himself came thither. The Constable Asking him, Mr. Prance, Will you see Mr. Bedloe ? No. (he said) he would not ; And then Prance put his Hat over his Eyes, that Bedloe might not see his Face, [fol. 3.] But Bedloe calling to have the Lobby Clear'd, he happen'd at Prance's coming by, to cast his Eyes upon his Face, and presently knew him, and Cry'd, Oh ! Pray Sir Stay ; you are one of my Friends that must stay here : And I presently Charg'd my Guards to take Charge of him. Saith the Constable, He is my Pris'ner. Is he so, said I ? Then you have a very good Pris'ner : And Pray look safe to him : And then when I went into the House of Lords, I made out my Charge against him, fol. 34.

Now to Compare Bedloe with Himself, in his Deposition of Oct. 8. The Body was Carry'd-off on Monday
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Now to Compare Bedloe with Himself, in his Deposition of Oct. 8. The Body was Carry'd-off on Monday
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Night at Nine of the Clock. He swears upon the 12th. before the Lords, that He himself saw the Body there long after Nine, when they Agreed to carry it away at Eleven; and in Green's Tryal again, Expressly that he saw it there after Nine, fol. 34.

He was told upon the 8th. That they stifled Godfrey betwixt Two Pillows. On the 12th. That he was stifled with a Pillow: And upon the Tryal, fol. 32. was told they had Strangled him, but he did not know how.

In his Enformation, Nov. 12. He appointed to meet Le Phaire at Somerset-House at Eight in the Evening, and accordingly, betwixt Eight and Nine, went Thither: but Le Phaire sayd he had stayd almost an Hour for him: whereas at the Tryal, the Appointment was Nine a Clock, and they met Exactly at the Hour. Tryal, pag. 31. He Swears, Nov. 12. 1678. That Le Phaire led him into the Room where the Body was; which was Dark, and pull'd out a Dark Lanthorn, &c. Whereas in the Tryal, he takes Notice that the Entry was Dark, but not the Room, fol. 31. And he had forgot the Lanthorn, if Prance had not minded him of it. Beside that he took a Turn in the Room before it was opened. Ibid. Bedloe had a mind, he says, to Discover, Two Years ago; but was Prevented, and only Drill'd them on to know the Party that was to be Murther'd, that he might prevent them, Tryal, p. 28. It is here to be Noted, that, fol. 28. Bedloe was Resolv'd to Discover; but fol. 32. He is Contriving how to Conceal the Murther. And 2ly. That he had a Mind to Discover it some Two Years ago; That is to say, a matter of Two Year before 'twas Committed. He says again, That He did not see Le Phaire, from Sunday, to Monday Night, pag. 31. And yet before the Lords, he met him by Accident, upon Sunday, in Fleetstreet. The Jesuits, he says, that were about the Body, and had Employ'd him to Insinuate himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance, thought he had not known

known them, fol. 32. though it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, and Wallis, that set him to insinuate Himself into Godfrey's Acquaintance; Le Phaire Himself that now shew'd him the Body. Tryal, pag. 29. And that were present (as he Swears before the Lords) at the same Time in the Room with the Body. Prance says, That they run him through with his own Sword, and then threw him into a Ditch. Bedloe says upon the Journal, That they had made a Wound in his Body, and lay'd his Sword by him.

Upon the whole Matter, This Story was certainly one of the Rankest Forgeries that ever pass'd so much, and so long Current for a Truth: But we shall now take a Summary View of Prance's Evidence, upon the same Subject, and Pretext.

CHAP. VII.

How Prance came to be Taken up; How he was Managed; with the Sum of his Evidence about Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and a General Reflexion upon the whole.

THE Intrigue of Prance's Affair must be Methodically Open'd, or it will never be Clearly Understood; and the Truth of the History it self, will suffer without the Light of an Orderly Introduction.

Prance had the Ill Fortune to have a Lodger in his House, one John Wren, that was behind-hand with him for Fourteen Months Rent; and Pressing him for his Mony, he was observ'd to cast out Threatning Words against his Landlord. Soon after This, there was a Tankard gone; and a Squabble about it; but in short, Prance never heard more of his Tankard;

He had his Rent Paid him on St. Thomas Eve, 1678. And was Taken up Next Morning upon a Warrant bearing Date the Day before, at the Instance and Complaint of This Wren and others, upon a Suspicion of being Privy to the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. This VVarrant was Deliver'd to the Officer by one Hill, and there it was suggested in the Enformation, That Prance lay out of his House some Nights while Sir Edmund was Missing. His Dealings with Grove: His Hiring a Horse to go out of Town: His Brother being a Priest; Pickering, and Ireland having been at his House, &c. It came to This, in fine, that John Wren, Joseph Hill, and Another, put in for the Five Hundred Pound Promis'd in the Proclamation; as being the First Discoverers of the Murther, and obtained a Certificate to That End, Dated December 27. 1678. upon Prance's Taking upon Himself to have had a Hand in the Action: He was Carry'd away in Custody, into a Little Room within a Lobby by the House of Commons, and While they were There Attending, in comes Bedloe; staring up and down, and Enquiring Privately which was the Pris'ner, They shew'd him the Man, and so soon as Ever he had got sight of him, he went his way.

Now the Truth of this Matter is quite Another Thing from the Bus'ness of the Lobby, as Bedloe has Reported it in his Evidence, Tryal 33, 34. for Bedloe did not Apprehend Prance, as he says, but he was in Custody already; No such Question asked by the Constable as Mr. Prance, will you see Mr. Bedloe? No Plucking his Hat over his Eyes; Not one Word sayd Bedloe to Prance; No Bidding of his Guards to take Charge of him. And so for the Bus'ness of his going to Bristoll, in such Trouble of Mind forsooth, for the Murthers that had been Already Committed, and the Greater One's that were Daily intended, and his being at last

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Convinc'd, and Writing to the Secretary, &c. Green's Tryal, p. 33. 'Tis all a Sham (as appears Already) for he Wrote from Newbery upon his way to Bristol; and had the Cheat, the Perjury, and the Reward at That Time in his Eye.

After the Officers had Waited for some Hours with Prance in the Lobby, they Carry'd him to an Eating House call'd Heaven; Into a Room (as by Chance) where Bedloe was Planted by Sir William Waller, and some Others, by Manifest Design: when, of a sudden, Up starts Bedloe, and with an Oath VVorthy of That Mouth cry'd out [This is one of the Rogues that I saw with a Dark Lanthorn about the Body of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, but he was then in a Periwig.] Prance was Carry'd from Thence to the Committee of Lords, and VVhile he was VVaiting to be Call'd; Wren came to him and told him, [Now is your Time to Confess, or you are Ruin'd.] speaking of the Murther of Sir Edmund B. Godfrey. Bedloe Charg'd him before the Lords with the Murther; and Wren, with being out of his House while the Body was Missing, but he Deny'd All upon his Examination, Affirming that he knew Nothing of the Murther, neither did he know Bedloe: and object-ing against Wren, as an Incompetent Witness. This was December 21, 1678. And the Heads of his Depositions were as follows;

That he had been a Papist, but was now a Protestant; and had taken the Oaths: That he had wrought in his Trade for Groves, Pickering, Fenwick, and Ireland; That the Sunday after These Persons were Taken up, He sayd in a Coffee-house, [they were very Honest Men] which some People took offence at. He kept out of the Way for fear of being Question'd. He never lay out of his House but Three Nights in Two Year. He had not seen Rawson of the VVhite-house, This Twelvemonth; Nor did

he go to the *Queens Chappel* once a Month. He Deny'd the *Hiring of a Horse*, at First; but Confess'd it afterward, and that it was to *Avoid the Oaths*. That an Arrest stayd him in Town. That his Wife was a *Papist*. That he Chang'd *Guineas* for one Mr. *Owen a Layman*: That he had nothing to do with the *Death of Godfrey*: That he sent a *Halbert* over the Way once, when they were searching for Arms; That he lay at a Neighbours House on Monday when Sir *Edmund* was Missing. That he had made a *Light Flaxen Periwig* of his Wife's Hair, but he never Wore it; That he had Dealt with *Grove* for *Guineas*, and had Money of him for Work: That he knew *Pickering*, and had been lately in his Company, but Neither *VValsh*, nor *Prichard*: That *Pickering* was a *Clark* in the *Queens Chappel*: That he did not know *Le Phaire*, and thinks he did not know *Captain Pugh*; And that he was at Home from Five the Last Night, to Eleven.

I have been the more Particular in This, in Regard of the Relation it has to All the Rest; but to come Round now to my Bus'ness, Here's the short on't.

Upon Saturday, December 21. *Prance Denyes All*. His First nights Lodging in the *Condemn'd Hole*, and a Paper of Instructions next his Heart on Sunday Morning, Mollify'd, and made very Wax of him to Yield to Any Impression. That Sunday Night, by the help of some Illuminations in *Aldersgate Street*, he began to see Day-Light, and to Promise Discoveries, if he Might be sure of a Pardon. On Munday, the 23. [The House was Inform'd (as I find it upon the Lords Journal) That Miles Prance hath made some Discovery of the Plot, and hath offer'd to make further Discovery of the Plot; and also touching the Death of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, and the Whole Manner of it, If he might First be fully Assured of his Majesties Gracious and General Pardon, &c.

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The Plot goes First, I perceive ; but upon This Report, Immediate Application was made to His Majesty ; a Full and General Pardon Promis'd ; and it was forthwith [Order'd, that certain Lords should acquaint Miles Prance in Newgate, That Afternoon with his Majesties Gracious Assurance, and that they should then and there Proceed to Examine him thoroughly in Order to a True and perfect Discovery ; and that Care should be taken that No other Person, Lord, or Commoner should be present at the said Examination, but the said Lords, and the Pris'ner.]

The House of Commons pass'd Two Orders of the same Date likewise, upon the same Subject.

1. Order'd, That. the Committee of Secrecy, or any Three of them, do repair to the Prison, and take the Examination of Mr. Prance touching the Plot, and the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

Post Meridiem.

2. Ordered, That the Committee of Secrecy appointed to Examine Mr. Prance, do Impart to the Pris'ners in Newgate, the Contents of His Majesties Proclamation in Relation to the Discovery of the Plot against his Majesties Person and Government. Commons Journal, pag. 206, 207.

It makes a Man Tremble, to think what a Jayl-Delivery of Discoverers this Temptation might have Produced. The Assurance of a Pardon, had by This Time Mellow'd Prance, and made him Ripe for a Further Examination ; so that upon Tuesday Morning, Decemb. 24. He was Examin'd by the King in Council, about the Plot, and about the Murther, with a Promise of Pardon upon a Full Discovery.

Hereupon he Declar'd, That One Girald, an Irish Priest spoke to him about the Killing of a Man, not saying who it was; this was about a Fortnight before the Murder. And about a Week after, Girald, Green, and Hill told him they would Kill Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for he was an Enemy to the Queen, or her Servants. He had with some Irish Men Ill; and Girald told him, the Lord Bellassis would see the Action rewarded; Girald owning an Old Grudge to Sir Edmund, about a Business of Parish-Duties. He said they had Watch'd him a Week or Fortnight before his Death: Green had call'd at his House that Saturday Morning, and that He, Girald, and Hill had Dogg'd him That Day until he came by his Death.

His Majesty thereupon appointed the Duke of Monmouth, and the Earl of Ossory to take France's Enformation at Somerset-House, from Place to Place, where the Things were acted; which they did accordingly, and reported the Matter to his Majesty in Council, which Report we shall here Insert at Length, as the very Key of the Imposture, to any Man that shall but Trace the Story through the Lodgings.

May it Please your Majesty,

IN Obedience to your Majesties Order signified to us this Morning in Council, we have been at Somerset-House, and there taken the Examination of Miles France a Silver-Smith, touching the Murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, upon the Place where the same was Committed, and in Virtue of the Oath taken before your Majesty, he declared as followeth.

That it was either at the Latter End, or the Beginning of the Week, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey did, about Nine of the Clock at Night, pass from towards St. Clements as far as the Great Water-gate at Somerset House, being

being watched and followed by Lawrence Hill, one Green, and one Gerald; that Hill making some haste before, stept within the Wicket which was open, and turning foot out again, call'd to Sir Edmund as he was Passing, and said there were two Men quarrelling within, who might soon be quieted if once they saw him: Whereupon he entred through the Wicket, and after him, Green and Gerald, and down they all went, till they came to a Bench that is at the Bottom of the Deep Descent, and joyning to a Rail next to the upper end of the Stables on the Right hand: That upon the said Bench, there were sitting and attending their coming, the Examinee, Miles Prance, and one Berry the Porter of the Other Gate, together with an Irish-man that Lodg'd at Green's House, whose Name he knows not; And by that time they were come half way down, he the said Prance went up to the Wicket there to attend, and give notice, if any came; and at the same time the said Berry went streight on, from the Bench toward the Stone Stairs which led to the Upper Court: and when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came down to the Bench, Green, who follow'd him, put about his Neck a large Twisted Handkercher; and thereupon all the rest Assisted, and dragged him into a Corner which is behind the said Bench and the said Rail: and Green, who Inform'd him in the manner hereof, and with whom he had before Seen the large Twisted Handkercher, added, that he had Thumped him on the Breast, and Twisted his Neck untill he Broak it.

And the Examinee saith, that he did, in about a Quarter of an hour after he had been standing at the Wicket, come down to see what was done; and found that they had Throatled him, but his Body remain'd Warm, and seem'd hardly Dead. But He, together with the said Hill, Green, Gerald, and Berry, and the Irish-man, took him up, and convey'd him through a Door that is on the Left Hand coming down at the Corner of the Coach-House, which leads up several Stairs into a long dark Passage or Gallery,
opening

opening at last into the Upper Court, in which Passage there is a Door on the Left hand, which being open'd, leads up with Eight Stairs into Another House adjoining, but immediately upon the Right hand, being got up, there is a little Clofet, or Square Room, into which they convey'd the Body; and there set the Body Bending, with the Back against a Bed, which the Examinant having now seen again, thinks to be the same Bed that was there at the said Time. He further said, that Hill lived at this House, and the Body was for Two Days Lest there, in his care; but then being afraid of Discovery, Hill, Gerald, Green, Berry, and the Irishman, as they told him, did Take and Convey the Body from thence about Nine or Ten of the Clock at Night, and carry'd it into the House, and into some Room towards the Garden; and that while the Body lay there, he was, by Hill, conducted to see it, and saw the Body as it lay Bended, and Green, and Gerald were present. That from Thence, upon a Tuesday Night, the Body was brought back near to the Place where first it lay, into a Room in the said Gallery, over-against the first Door, somewhat higher up towards the Court, the Chamber belonging to some of the Servants of Sir John Arundel, where it remain'd until Nine or Ten of the Clock on Wednesday Night: and then, thinking it fit to remove it to the Little Room where first it Lay, this Examinant happened to come as they were lifting it up the said Eight Steps, whereupon Hill and Berry fled, as supposing him to be some Stranger; but Gerald, Green, and the Irishman stood still; and so he helped them to Lift up the Body into the former Clofet, and There it continued till after Twelve of the Clock the same Wednesday Night. Hill and Berry came to them when their Fright was over; and Hill having got a Sedan, and placing it in the long dark Entry at the Foot of the said Eight Stairs, they put the Body thereinto. The Examinee Prance, and Gerald, first took up the Chair, and

convey'd it through the Upper-Court; Berry the Porter open'd half the Gate, and let them out; and they rested not till they came to Covent Garden, where Green, and another Irish-man took their Turns, and so carry'd the Sedan, and Body in it, as far as the New Grecian Church in the So-ho; and there Hill met them with a Horse; whereupon they took out the Body, and forcing open the Legs, they set it upon the Horse, Hill Riding behind, to keep the Body up, while Green, Gerald, and the Irish-man went to accompany him. Berry the Porter did not depart from the Gate, and the Examinee Prance, fearing to be missing, return'd home when the Body was set on Horseback; and the Sedan, which was left in one of the New Unfinished Houses, they took it up, and brought it home as they came back.

He further saith, That the Body lay in Somerset-House about Six or Seven Days, before it was Carry'd out: but he is not certain in the Number of the Days. He was very Positive as to the Place where the Murther was Committed, and the Manner of it; as also for the Room where the Body was first laid; but being desired to conduct us to the Room next the Garden, he led us to the Corner of the Piazza on the Left hand, and so down a Pair of Stairs, and so far seem'd to be assured he had been Led, and did think that he pass'd through the Great Court Below: But when from Thence we went up and down into several Rooms, he seem'd very Doubtful, and could not ascertain the Places; saying, He had never been there but that Once, when Hill convey'd him thither with a Dark Lanthorn; but that it was some Chamber towards the Garden. In the House where the Body was first layd, we found a Woman, whose Deposition we have taken; She was House-keeper to Dr. Godwin, and the said Hill had been a Servant to the said Doctor in this House, for above Seven Years; and continued to live there since the Doctor's Departure until Michaelmas Last: but that he hath been there Three several Times.

Times since; and she also knew the Examinee, and call'd him by his Name.

All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty.

24. Decemb.

1678.

Monmouth.

Offory.

Upon reading which Report, it appear'd that the Particulars were very Consonant to what he had spoken at the Board in the Morning before his going; at which time being also further asked, Why he gave so different a Relation to the Committee of the Lords, from what he now so freely Confess'd? He made Answer, He was in much Confusion before the Committee, being not sure of his Pardon; but now, being Sure of it, and also upon his Oath, he did Speak the whole Truth, according to his Knowledge. And being then further Asked, Why he came not in upon the Proclamation, and the Reward thereof: He said, He was affraid to Trust thereunto. And being further Asked, What Reward he had receiv'd from those that Employ'd him? He said, He had yet received no Reward, nor had he sought for any, but only the Promise of Gerald, that there should be a Reward, by the Lord Bellassis. He said that he wrought in the way of his Trade to the Queens Chappel, and was a Roman Catholick, but that about Eight Weeks ago he had taken the Oathes: Being Asked, Whether there were no Guards in the usual places, at the time of Carrying on this Work? He said, He did not take Notice of any: And being asked, Whether he saw Bedloe when he was Carry'd to see the Body, when it lay in the Back-Chamber near the Garden? He Answered, He could not tell whether Bedloe was There or No; but doth remember, that Gerald, and Green, were then Present. He adds,

that

of Sir E. B. Godfrey Unfolded. 61

that Hill, Green, and Gerald, told him that they had at Primrose-hill Thrust Sir Edmund's Sword through his Body, till it came an Inch out of his Back: and that he struggled very much at the time they strangled him, but that Green punched him with his knees upon his Body, to hasten his Death.

The Council sat again in the Afternoon, and France was Confronted with Green, Hill, and Berry, who Deny'd every Syllable of the Charge, and France stood as stoutly to every Point of the Accusation.

On the Following 25, 26, 27, 28, December, there pass'd little more then the same thing over again, from some Members of Both Houses, who were often with him in Newgate, and still telling him, when his Evidence did not agree with Bedloe's, that he was a Rogue, and had a Mind to Spoil All, with Menares if he did not Confess.

Upon Sunday the 29th, he was Examin'd before the King in Council; And, Denying All; he was asked what Inducement he had to the story? Why he swore against Those Persons? Who put him upon't? He said, No Body Prompted him; He only knew the Men that he swore against; He never saw Bedloe before he was taken up. He knew Nothing of the Plot, nor of the Murther; All he had Sworn was False; He never was Guilty of any Man's Blood, and could not Rest for the Story he had told: But Wren ought him Money, and Threatned him because he Preisd him for't; and so Flair'd him into't. Some there were that Call'd him a Thousand Villains, and Apostates; and Threatned to shew him the Wrack; but he was in the Conclusion, Remanded to Newgate. It should have been Premis'd, that the Keeper being Order'd to Attend the Council with his Prisoner, France made it his request that he might Wait upon his Majesty, before he Carry'd him to the Council.

Captain

Captain *Richardson* Enform'd the King of his Earnest desire; and he was Order'd to Carry *Prance* to *Mr. Chiffinch's Lodgings*, which accordingly he did; and stayd there together with him, 'till his Majesty came into the next Chamber, and Beckon'd *Prance* to come to him; and the Door was shut after him. He had been a very short time there, When his Majesty Open'd the Door, (*Prance* being then upon his knees) and had *Mr. Chiffinch*, and Captain *Richardson* to take Notice of what *Prance* sayd; VVho, being call'd upon to speak what he had to say, [*Declar'd that the Men he had sworn against, were All Innocent: and that All he had sworn against them was False: which he Affirmed with great Passion, and Earnest Asseveration.* The Late Blessed King Pressing him in These very Words, (as I have good Authority for't) Upon your Salvation is it so? *Prance* Replying Upon my Salvation the whole At-taculation is False] He was Carry'd thence to the Council, where he fell down upon his knees also, and Deny'd All that he had sworn at First; Infomuch that the Duke of *Monmouth* Inferred, that Certainly they had let Priests and Jesuits come to him, he could Never have gone off as he did else. He told the very same story to the King in Council upon the 30th. as he had done upon the 29th. To Conclude; He stood Firm to This Denyal, against All Terrors, and Temptations, from the 29th. of December, to the 11th. of the Following January; and his Carcass had not as yet gotten the full Mastery of his Conscience; but when he once overcame That scruple, He Proceeded by Degrees from a sin of Infirmary, to the Habit of a Most Malicious Wickedness: Though upon the VVhole Matter, I have Charitable Reason yet to Believe, that God has vouchsaf'd him, the Mercy, and the Grace of an Unfeigned Repentance.

I should now come to take his *Westminster-Hall Evidence* to Pieces; but telling his Tale by *Book*, and having Little or No occasion to Change his Note, His running the History over and over in his Evidence was in Effect but the so many times saying of the same Lesson again. Not but that there are *Blunders*, abundantly, and *Incongruities*, upon the *Connexion*, that are never to be Justify'd or Reconcil'd. As for Example.

Prance swears before the King and Council, Decemb. 24. 1678. That Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey was Murder'd either the *Latter end*, or the *Beginning of the Week*; and afterward, that the *Body* lay about Six or Seven Days in *Somerfet-house* before it was Carry'd out: But he swears *Punctually*, upon the *Tryals*, to the *Saturday Morning*: Nay to the very *Hour of Nine or Ten*, fol. 15. to the *Dogging* of him till about *Seven*; to his coming to *Somerfet-house* about *Eight or Nine*; where he lay till *Munday-Night*; and what became of him 'till *Tuesday*; and so to the *Chairing* of him away to *Prim-Rose-Hill*, upon *Wednesday* about *Midnight*, which amounts to but *Four Days* from *Saturday Night*, and from *Munday*, but *Two*.

But we shall have Work enough to Observe upon Contradictions and Absurdities when we come to Confront Prance, and Bedloe, One with Another: and in the Mean time, it shall suffice, that he has given Himself the Lye with the *Horridest Solemnity of Imprecations* Imaginable in Denyal of Every Article of his Accusation: Besides that he was as much Out, when he was to shew the Duke of *Monmouth* and My Lord *Offory* the Room in *Somerfet-house* where the *Body* was First Lay'd, December 24. as Otes was to bring the Earls of *Offory* and *Bridgwater* to the *Stair-Case* that led to the Place where he Overheard the *Queen* speaking *Treason*, Nov. 26. Nay My Lord *Offory* Himself had such an Opinion of the Story, that Mr. *Vincent* who was then Attending the

the Duke of *Monmouth*, heard my Lord *Ossory* tell his Master upon Asking *What he Thought on't*, that it was *All a Great Cheat*.

C H A P. VIII.

*The Secret History of Prance's Condition, from
December 29. 1678. to January 11. 1679. and
the Secret Manage of him in the Prison.*

THE Readers Memory must be Refresh'd once again with it, that *Prance* was Taken-up by the Lords Committees; Examined and Committed to *Newgate*, Decemb. 21. 1678. Finally, Denying every Point that was Charg'd upon him. On the 22d. *Shaftsbury*, &c had the Handling of him, (as *Captain Richardson* well knows) and by the Help of a Preparatory Paper of Instructions, formerly spoken of, Wrought upon Good Nature so far, as the next Morning to obtain the Promise of a Pardon for him, upon the Plot-Condition of Making out a Full and Perfect Discovery; and on the same day he was Close Ply'd in the Prison with Two Committees, one after another, upon the Subject (to Cross the Proverb) of Confess, and you shall Not be Hang'd. On the 24th. he Deliver'd his Enformation at large to the King in Council; from whence he was Remov'd back again, and according to Order, put into a Better Lodging; There he continued near a Week, with his Irons, sometimes off, sometimes on; During which Time, he was taken out by one of the Keepers, who told him, You are now going to be hang'd; but they Carry'd him to my Lord Chief Justice: And upon his Refusal to Answer to Certain In-

terrogat

interrogatories, he was taken back again to Prison: There pass'd Nothing Considerable till the 29th. and 30th. Upon which Two Days, he did, with Dreadful Imprecations Declare, and Affirm, both to the King and Council upon his *Knees*, and [upon his *Salvation*] (tho Those Words are left out of Mr. Chiffinche's Evidence in the Tryal) that his Depositions are wholly False, and the Persons Innocent that he had Accus'd: Affirming likewise to his Majesty and Council, that he had no other Hints to the Story he had told, then what he took from the aforesaid Paper of Instructions, that was laid by him in the Condemn'd Hole in Newgate, as is set forth in another place.

Now That which I call *Prance's Secret History*, is the Account of what pass'd in the Interval betwixt his Falling-off from his Former Evidence, and his returning to it again; a Parenthesis that lyes much in the Dark, and a Period too Remarkable to be Bury'd in Silence.

Soon after This Vehement Denyal, and Retraction of *Prance's*, the Lords Committees (Jan. 2.) Order'd one *William Boyce* to Attend them about *Miles Prance*, who accordingly, with his Wife, Attended their Lordships on the 4th. And being Interrogated upon the Enformation of *John Wren* about *Prance's* Lying abroad at His House, they made This Answer.

WILLIAM BOYCE Enforms, That upon Clapping up of the Jesuits into Newgate, he was in a Coffee-House, with *Miles Prance*, who hearing thereof, Lamented their Misfortune, and openly Declar'd them to be such Honest Men, that some of the Company said, they would Complain of him to the Council-Board; whereupon *Prance*, being affraid, did, on Wednesday and Thursday Night, the Second and Third of October Last, come and lye at his House, but never before, nor since. And the Wife of *Boyce* also being call'd-in, Deposed the same.

Now This Enformation of *Boyet* Destroys the Oath of *John Wren*, that says he was out *Tuesday* and *Wednesday Night*, when *Godfrey* was Missing; and of *Margaret* his Wife, that says he was Missing *Four Nights* that Week; And so of *Charles Manning*; and *Elizabeth Trevor*, that swear to his Lying abroad some Nights More or Fewer, betwixt the 12th, and the 17th of *October*, according to the Entries of them made in the *Council Books*: He Persisted in his Denyal of All; and from the 30th. of *December* to the 8th. of *January* following, what with the Deadly Cold, and Nastiness of the Place; the Distress of his Condition, the Agony of his Thoughts, under the Horror of Drawing upon himself the Guilt of *Innocent Blood*, and the Gallling Weight of his *Irons*, he lay in such Torments, both of *Body* and *Mind*, that he spent his Hours in Roaring and Groaning, and Restlessly Exclaiming; and Crying out *Not Guilty, Not Guilty. No Murder.* And so the same Out-Cryes, or Glamours at least, to that Effect, Over and Over, that they had no way to Cover the *Scandal*, and the Inhumanity of his Usage, but either by Imputing the Anguish of a *Wounded Conscience* to the Ravings of a *Distemper'd Brain*; or else to make a worse Matter on't, by Ridiculing a *True Repentance* into the Story of a *Counterfeit Madness*. But when *Things* were at the worst, *Miles Prance* was, now and then by Fits, as the Good Humour Prevail'd, Eas'd of his *Irons*; Comforted with Good Words; and nothing of Manage Omitted for the bringing Him to Understand Reason.

Upon the 8th. of *January*, 1673. *Captain Richardson* attended the *Lords Committees* about the Safe Custody of *Miles Prance*, according to an Order of the Day before. He was call'd in to give some Enformation in Writing concerning him; as Also the Enformation of his Servant *Charles Cooper*; and it appearing to the
Lords

Lords that *Prance* strives what he can to Counterfeit being *Mad*, and that he spake *Plaineſt* when he was in *Irons*, their Lordships therefore Direct Captain *Richardſon* to return him to the Condition he was firſt in, hoping by ſome Streightneſs he may be brought to ſtand to the Truth. Their Lordships further Order'd that Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, be Deſired to Diſcourſe with *Prance*, in order to ſettle his Mind, if there be any real Occaſion for it, and that Mr. Dean do attend their Lordships to Morrow to receive Directions therein.

On the Day following Dr. *Lloyd* Attended the Council-Chamber, according to Order; And thereupon a Letter of Inſtructions was ſent to *Richardſon* as follows.

Sir,
The Lords of the Committees have This Morning Diſcourſed Dr. *Lloyd*, the Dean of *Bangor*, concerning *Miles Prance*, and the Various Tempers he hath appeared in: and their Lordships have Deſired the Dean to try whether he can Compoſe his Mind by ſuch Methods of Diſcourſe and Perſuaſion, as he ſhall think fit to uſe. Wherefore the Lords Direct that you, do from Time to Time permit Mr. Dean to have Acceſs to him, as he ſhall deſire; and as well All the Papers of Mr. *Prance*'s Evidence here Depending, as alſo what your Man *Cooper* hath Certify'd touching his Behaviour, there, have been ſent to Mr. Dean for his Better Enformation, &c.

It appears likewise upon the Council-Books that a Servant of Captain *Richardſon*'s Attended their Lordships the ſame Day.

Cooper, a Servant from Captain *Richardſon*, acquainted the Lords, that he ſate up laſt Night with *Prance*, who is, according to Directions, put in *Irons*. He ſays, that

he slept very Little, and used much Raving Talk; but having Drink by him, and pretending to have spilt it, by Flinging down the Vessel, there did not appear one quarter of the Drink to be spilt. That when he put on his Stockings, having Stirrups within, and one of them Tore, he layd the Pieces over each other before he drew the Upper Stocking on; and having put on his Shoes with the Buckles Wrong, he presently Alter'd them to Rights.

The Next day, Jan. 10. Captain Richardson had another Letter about giving Boyce Liberty to Visit Prance in the Words following.

SIR,

THE Lords of the Committee did think fit This Morning to send for William Boyce, who was an old Friend and Acquaintance to Miles Prance, and believing that he may do much toward the Composing of the Mans Mind, the Lords have Discoursed with him at Large, and would have you also Enform him in what you can, and to permit him from time to time to have Access to the said Prance, and he will come and Enform the Lords how things do Pass, which is all I have in Command from the Lords to signifie, and am, &c.

On the Next Day came Cooper again with Another Report from Newgate about Prance.

Charles Cooper Servant to Captain Richardson, gave their Lordships an Account, how that Prance had Yesterday Rav'd very much, but in the Afternoon, grew more Mild, and desir'd to speak with Captain Richardson, which he did, and soon after Dr. Lloyd came to him: That he rested well till Midnight, but then fell to Rave, Crying out frequently, that it was not he Murther'd him, but They kill'd him. He having long forbore to Eat, Cooper told him he would lose his Stomach if he did not Eat; whereupon he fell to Eat very Heartily, and having the last Night thrown

thrown in to him a Flock-Bed, with a Piece or Two of Blanket to cover him, he made use of all to his Conveniency, rather than to Continue on the Boards.

On Jan. 11. Captain Richardson receives Another Letter, as follows, about Prance.

SIR,

THE Lords of the Committee having put into the hands of Dr. Lloyd his Majesties Warrant for Prance's Pardon, and Instructions how to make use of the same, you are to follow such Direction as the said Doctor shall give you, either to the taking off Mr. Prance's Irons, or for his Better Accomodation, notwithstanding their Lordships former Order to the Contrary.

And the same Day Mr. Dean of Bangor tells their Lordships, that having been several times with Prance, he first found him very Sullen, and Denying all; but at last his Speech was Consistent, and he desired the Doctor to come the next day, as if then he would say more, which the Doctor doing, he appear'd very well compos'd, and in good humour, saying that he had Confess'd Honestly before, and had not Wrong'd any of those he had Accus'd.

This Report of the Doctors, is follow'd with another of Boyces, of the same Date.

William Boyce, who had also been with Prance, tells the Lords, That he Enquir'd for his Wife, and was glad to hear she was not in Prison.

That he fear'd he should be Hang'd, by what my Lord Shaftsbury told him, That if he did not Confess, and Agree with Bedloe in what Concern'd the Murther, that he should be Hang'd.

He also seem'd to fear that Those Three whom he accus'd, (meaning Green, Berry, and Hill) were set at Liberty; That he would Confess All, if he were sure of his Pardon; That he desired to speak with the Lord Shaftsbury about Four Men that had a Design to Murther him.

Captain Richardson tells the Lords that Prance sent Yesterday for him while he was in his good Temper; told him that Four Persons Named in the Following Warrant, together with Young Staley, and Himself, were lately Drinking at the Cross-Keys over against Staley's Shop; and that their Discourse was, how that the Lord Shaftsbury was a great Persecutor of the Catholiques, and must be taken off by shooting, or some Other way: and that he would have told the Lord Shaftsbury of it when he came to Newgate, but that his Lordship appeared so Hasty, that he would not let him speak. Their Lordships presently Signed a Warrant for the Apprehending of These Men, and Appointed Sir Robert Southwell to go in the Afternoon to acquaint the Earl of Shaftsbury therewith. The Persons Accus'd were Humphry Adamson, George Bradshaw, Benedict Prosser, and Christopher Maddison.

Mr. Boyce further Enform'd their Lordships on the day above, that being This morning in Newgate with hopes to have found Prance in the same Temper; he found him so sullen that he would not speak a Word to him, but laying down his Face upon his Arms, Cryed out, and often Repeated, I have Committed No Murder.

Captain Richardson being Examin'd what might be the Cause of This Fright from whence All These Changes seem to Arise; says that he cannot Imagine, unless it were that when once he brought him down, several People came to Enquire of him, when the Men, meaning the Three Condemn'd would be Executed: wherein he might perhaps think himself Concern'd. That Prance had once told him of a Whisper through the Key-hole, which he Believed not; but supposes Another thing might be True which is said by him, that Moore, and Mellenger, being here Attending when he was brought, did Beckon to him, which made him alter his Mind.

Their

Their Lordships thought fit to Move his Majesty for a Warrant of Pardon, which is accordingly obtained, and Mr. Dean is to shew it unto him, in order to settle his Doubts; and if he appears to Embrace it, and Deserve it, then that his Irons be knockt off; and He remov'd into Better Quarters: and a Letter, to This Effect, to Captain Richardson, which appears in the beginning of This Days Entry, and as well the Dean as Mr. Boyce are to Acquaint their Lordships, on Munday, how This Bus'ness proceeds.

Upon Monday the 10th. the Dean of Bangor is call'd in, and says, that he gave on Saturday-night to Mr. Secretary Coventry such Enformation in Writing as he had from Miles Prance; which being call'd for, to be Read, was for some Reasons of Secrecy, Excus'd, as Discovering New Persons Not yet apprehended.

That when the Dean went to him on Saturday, he found him almost Dead, and without a Pulse: but at last, when his Irons were off, and he Carry'd into a Warm Room, he began to Hearken to his Pardon, and did Revive; Promising that he would Declare all he knew, but first desiring to have his Pardon Completed, and after Insisting hereupon; that Then he should speak out.

William Boyce says he found him in a very good Temper: but very Jelous, and Desirous about his Pardon.

And then he open'd and told him of Dangerous Words spoken by Bradshaw, and Guzzen; of Mr. Messenger's being fet on by the Popish Lords to Kill the King; Vernatti Concern'd in the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, &c.

He had now sworn Himself out of the Condemn'd Hole, and out of a starving Condition upon the Boards, into a Warm Room, Variety of Dishes, a Convenient Lodging; and his Friend Boyce at his Elbow, with the Liberty of Invention, Pen, Ink and Paper, toward the Compiling of his Narratives.

It is a Bold Adventure for One Man to Undertake for Another Man's Conscience; but it is yet a Bolder, Under so many Signs, and Indications of Remorse, as *Prance* Express'd in the Prison, for so many Days together, to Pronounce That Appearance of Penitence, to be Hypocrisy, and to Interpret That steadyness, in favour of a Lye, rather than of a Truth; He Deny'd Every Syllable of the Accusation, upon his First Charge. He shrunk after That, under the Fear of Death, from the 22. of December to the 29. And there, as a Man that was not as yet Wholly Abandon'd to Work Wickedness, he went off again; and from Thence, to the Following 11th. of January, he Continu'd Firm notwithstanding All the Temptations of Life, Liberty, and Ease. But the First Proof of his Frailty, was an Encouragement to the making of a Further Tryal of it; And, Effectually, *Prance's* Case was the very same Case with that of *Green, Berry, and Hill*, as to the Choice they had before them, of Living or Dying, upon the same Terms.

Now as to his Playing the *Mad-Man*, the very Fancying of it, Under his Circumstances, is Certainly One of the most Phantastical Freaks, next to the Believing of it, that ever was in Nature. To take it first in the Reason of the Thing. Suppose it a Murder, and Himself one of the Murderers; or suppose it Neither One, nor the Other: He was to Dye, in Case of not Confessing, whether he were Guilty or Not. Now for him to stand out in the Defence of a Falsity (as the Patron of the Murder will have it) was the Certain way to Carry him to the Gallows, and to the Devil, Both at once; and the owning of a Truth (as They would have it Understood) was the Ready Way to the Saving of him both Soul and Body.

There is a Second Consideration, which makes that Conceit of it so Ridiculous, that a Man of sense would rather

rather Chuse to wear a *Fools-Coat* then own himself the *Author* of it. They will have it a Piece of *Art* in him to make himself appear a *Mad-man*; when on the Contrary, it was Manifestly his *Interest* the Most in the World to be taken for a *Sober Man*; for after the *Irresistible Transports*, and *Agitations* of a *Labouring Conscience*, Reflecting upon his having call'd *God* to *Witness* to a *Perjurious Oath* against the *Life* of his *Neighbour*; His *Bus'ness* was to gain *Belief* to his *Innocence*, by taking *Shame* upon Himself for the *Guiltless Blood* that he had *Endanger'd* by a *False Oath*, and *Retracting*, as well as by *Confessing* the *Wickedness*; But on the Other side, what end could he have in Making the world Believe, that All his [*Not Guilties*] and [*No Murthers*] were rather the *Issue* of a *Distemper'd Head*, then of a *Troubled Conscience*? To take the Matter in Order; Captain *Richardson*, and his Man *Cooper*; are *Witnesses* to the *Fact* here in Question. *Prance* told the same story to the *King and Council*. He said the same Thing also to his Friend *Mr. Boyce*; Who in an *Enformation* of *April 5th. 1686.* upon This Subject has Expressly These words.

[*Here I am in Prison, Jan. 10. 1678. And I am like to be Hang'd, and I am Falsly accus'd.*]

There is Nothing hitherto that looks like the *Playing of a Part*; and it will appear upon further Enquiry, that *Prance's Body* was as much out of *Humour*, for *fooling*, as his *Mind*. But before I proceed to the *Hardness* of his *Condition*, and to the *Severity* of the *Usage*; it will be but *Justice* to Note by the Way, that the *Plot-Pris'ners* were not under the same Methods of *Government* with Those People, that the *Law Lodges* in the *Power*, and in some sort, at the *Discretionary Mercy* of their *Keepers*. For there's a Great Difference betwixt Men that were Brought *Rogues Into Newgate*, and Men that were to be *Made Rogues There*; and so

to be moulded for the Use they were Taken-up for: A great Difference, I say, betwixt a Criminal of Law, and an Instrument of State: And in This Latter Case, the Keepers were Effectually under the Direction of a Certain Ambulatory Committee, When and in what Degree, to Squeeze, to Pinch, to Ease, to Shackle, to Comfort, or to Torment their Pris'ners, and Little or Nothing was done, but according to the Order and Disposition, Either General, or Particular, of the Cabal. I am now Entr'ing upon so Copious a Subject, that I Cannot do it Right without being Tedious; And therefore, though the Matter may seem all of a Piece with the Head that I am now upon, I shall yet assign it a Section by it self; And after the Narrative I have Already Exhibited, out of Authentique Entries, and Papers, of what pass'd Back and Forward concerning Prance, produce such Further Authorities, and Depositions to the same Effect, as will leave Envy and Diffidence it self, No Place for a Cavil.

CH A P. I X.

Prances Ill Usage, with a Brief Account of Himself; How he came to Depart from his Evidence. The Bishop of St. Asaphs Commission to Examine him; and several Passages Clear'd in the Proceeding.

THE History of the Last Chapter has layd the matter here in Question so open, that it Needs neither Enlargement, nor Comment. But the Reverend Dean of Bangor, (now Lord Bishop of St. Asaph) having been Assigned so Great a Part in the Transaction,

on, I find my self Obliged in Duty, Justice, Common Prudence, and Good Manners, to make use of That Reverend Name upon This Occasion.

There are some years now past since I had a Commission to look into This Case of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey; and finding the Bishops Name, so often mentioned in Records, and Journals concerning it, I took the Freedom to Trouble his Lordship with Several Papers about it; to which I had the Honour to Receive very Particular and Satisfactory Answers. But of This, By and By. And so we'll pass on to the remaining part of our Secret History; beginning with several Enformations referring to Prance's Condition in Newgate, till he went off from his Evidence.

William Boyce Deposeth, That upon Fryday, (Jan. 10. 1678.) some time after Christmas, while Miles Prance was a Pris'ner in Newgate, going to the said Prance by Order, went into a Room to him on the Left hand of the Entrance into the Lodge, where he found the said Prance in Irons, and brought him down into the Lodge; where the said Prance said to This Enformant, to this Effect; Here I am in Prison, and I am like to be Hang'd, I am falsly Accus'd. This Enformant, after some stay with him, went his Way, and Dr. Lloyd went in to him, This Enformant staying at Captain Richardson's House, till the said Dr. Lloyd return'd again.

And saith; That the Next Morning to the Day aforesaid, This Enformant was sent to by Captain Richardson to come to the said Prance again; whither This Enformant went, and found the said Miles Prance in his Irons, in the same Room where he found him the Day before; The Captain and his Servants telling him This Enformant, that the said Prance had a Raving Night of it; And This Enformant going to the said Prance, found him Lying at his Length upon the Boards, and Crying,
[Guil-

[Guilty, Guilty; Not Guilty, Not Guilty, No Murder.] Crying so Loud, that some of the Neighbourhood told This Enformant, that they had heard the Noise into the Street in the Night.

Mary Preston Deposeth, That this Enformant going frequently to visit her Husband, who on the First of November, 1678. was Committed to Newgate upon the Oath of Titus Otes, for a Priest, she This Enformant, in or about Christmas, in the year above, being in Company with one Mrs. Bridgman, Mrs. Medbourn, and Mrs. Medbourns Sister, with some others, coming down the Stairs of the said Prison into the Lodge, heard a Loud and a Constant Groaning of a Man as in great Torment; which was Taken Notice of also by the Company, which at that Time was with This Enformant. The Noise seeming to come from a Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole: because the nearer this Enformant went that way, the Plainer it was heard. Whereupon, This Enformant, or some of her Company, ask'd the Keeper who it was, one of them replying it was a Woman in Labour. But This Enformant and her Company, Concluded it to be a Mans Voice; after which, the said Keeper hastned This Enformant and her Company out of the Lodge, and so they Departed: But staying a while without the Door under the Arch, they heard the Noise and Groaning very plainly still.

And This Enformant came the next Morning to the said Prison again, and waiting longer then Ordinary for the Keepers Coming, to turn the Key for her to go to her Husband, she This Enformant walking in the Lodge about a Quarter of an hour, heard the Groaning of a Man from the same Place as the day before, though much Weaker.

This Enformant heard afterwards a Discourse in the Prison, that Prance was Mad, and she remembreth that within

within a few days after the hearing of these Groans, she This Enformant enquired how Prance did, receiving for Answer that he was Pretty well; And that they had given him a Flock-bed. This Enformant referring her self upon the Contents of this Enformation, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.

Catharine Wallis and Elizabeth Newens do joyntly Depose, That these Enformants, having been to visit Mr. Medbourn in Newgate, Coming down Stairs, and staying at the Door 'till the Turn-Key Unlock'd it, heard a Dreadful Groaning, and Noise out of a Place they call the Condemn'd Hole, and heard it likewise in the Lodge, and so out in the Street, 'till they came to the Old Bayly-Corner, Divers Passengers stopping in the Street to hear the Noise, were Chid away by the Keepers.

They say likewise, that the Keepers were asked what the Noise was; but they desired to be Excus'd, they must not Tell: Only it was said in the Prison, that it was the Cry of Miles Prance.

Elizabeth Newens Deposeth apart, That the time above-spoken-of in the Joynt Enformation of this Deponent and Mrs. Catharine Wallis, was some very few days before the Saturday, whereupon Miles Prance (as this Enformant heard in the Prison) was Remov'd from the Condemn'd Hole into the Press-yard; and that there was Present, one Mrs. Preston, and several others, who all took notice of the same Cry.

Philip Cook Deposeth, That this Enformant was Committed to Newgate by the Lord Mayor of London, upon the First publike Fast-day for the Plot, where he This Enformant Continued a Prisoner near the space of a year.

And

And that this Enformant, in, or about the time of Christmas next Enſuing the Commitment of This Enformant; He this Enformant heard the Strong Groans of a Man, which this Enformant Judged to be in the Place call'd the Condemn'd Hole; and ſeveral of his Fellow-Pris'ners declared themſelves to be of the ſame Opinion, divers of them hearkning after it: And this Enformant hearing it paſſing up and down the Stairs, and at the Grate of the Lodge, for the ſpace (as he Believeth) of at leaſt half an Hour.

And that This Enformant Enquiring what the Matter might be, the Pris'ners in the Houſe ſaid, that they were Torturing of Prance: and this Enformant asked ſome of the Keepers likewiſe; but he doth not particularly remember who they were, only he remembreth that ſome one or more of them told this Enformant ſoftly, That it was Prance that made That Noiſe; ſeeming unwilling to have any Notice taken of it; They refuſing to tell it to ſome Others that asked the Queſtion.

The Enformant Delivers all the matters in this Enformation contained, according to the beſt of his Knowledge and Memory.

Many more Inſtances might be added; but upon the whole Matter, Prance was made Guilty when he Deny'd the Murther, though Innocent of it, and no way to ſave his Life, but by Confeſſing it, whether Guilty or Not. The Pain that made him Roar, made him Counterfeit himſelf Mad, and no way but loading him with Freſh Irons to bring him to his Wiſs again. But after all This, How did it appear that he was come to his Senſes again? Why firſt, he pretended to have Spilt his Drink, when he had Drunk Three Parts of Four on't. 2ly. He found out an Expedient to draw out his Upper Stocking, though the Stirrup was torn. 3ly. He found that the Buckles of his Shoes were put on wrong, and Pre-

Presently set them to *Rights* again : I shall lay no stress upon any *Testimonials* that are not *Current*, but keep myself to the *Lords Journals* ; The *Entries* of the *Council-Books* ; *Enformations* formally taken upon *Oath* ; and such other *Evidences* as, Morally speaking, are of *Equivalent Certainty* with any of the *Rest*.

Let me not be thought to reckon any thing that *Prance* says of *Himself*, among these *Credible Testimonials* ; tho *Truth* is *Truth* still, *Whoever* *Delivers* it ; I shall only Condition, that Men of *Probity* may not *Suffer*, where *Prance* *Agrees* with them in the Point of *Faët* ; and This without *Prejudice* to the *Reputation* of any Man, where they *Differ*.

As to the *Enformation*, and the *Enformers* against *Prance* ; The *Day* of his *Seizure*, (being *Saturday*, *December* 21. 1678. his *Charge*, *Examination*, and *Commitment* ; *Wren's Sham-Advice* to him in the *Lobby* ; The *Imposture* of *Bedloe's Story* there ; and the *Trepanning* of him into the *Devils Mouth* ; The loading him with *Irons* in the *Condemn'd Hole* ; The *Carrying* of him to be *Tutour'd*, and *Curry'd* by *Shaftsbury* the *Next Day* ; and the *Hammering* of him by *Shaftsbury* again, and other *Examiners* in the *Prison*, the *Day following* ; His *Perjury* for fear of *Death* ; His *Enformations* before the *Lords*, and the *Promise* of his *Pardon* upon That *Discovery* ; The *Dance* he led the *Duke of Monmouth*, and the *Earl of Ossory* at *Somerset-House* upon *Tuesday* the 24th. The *remanding* of him to *Newgate* ; His *Denyal* of his *Evidence* to the *King* and *Council*, *December* 29. and 30. His *Raving* in *Newgate*, and *Denying* the *Murther* ; The *Turning* of him back out of a *Convenient Lodging* into the *Hole* again ; *Boyce's* coming to him by *Order*, and his *Privacies* with him ; and *Dr. Lloyd's* being sent to him, both by the *King*, and the *Lords Committees* ; The *Doctors Reports* upon the *Matter*, as well

well of Conscience, as of Health; The Killing Cold, and Nastiness of the Place; The Misery of his Condition; The Shewing him his Pardon; The Effects of it; and his Change of Resolution, to the very Time of his Removal into Better Quarters; These Circumstances are All Punctually Reported by Prance, and Confirm'd by other Witnesses; He speaks also of his Horrible Pains, and Extreme Weakness upon Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, which agrees both with the Doctor's Report, and several Affidavits. But for what Now follows, though Prance affirms every Syllable on't to be True, the Reader is yet at Liberty whether to believe it or not.

He says he had a Paper of Instructions brought him into the Condemn'd Hole; with Hints, and Minutes of the Plot, as is set forth Already, with these Words in't, [You had better Confess then be Hang'd.

He says further, That the Lord Shaftsbury told him particularly, that there were Great Ones concern'd; and he must discover Them too; for the Little Ones should not serve his Turn, calling him Rogue and Rascal several Times, for Crossing Bedloe's Evidence, and saying [there must be Great Persons in it] reflecting upon the Queen and the Duke of York; bidding him not to spare the King Himself; saying likewise, That the Body was layd under the Altar, and that he was Carry'd in a Coach to Primrose Hill; and that Bedloe said he was stifled under a Pillow, and that he (meaning Prance) would have it another way. He says, That some of the Keepers, upon his Crying-out in the Anguish of his Affliction, took him to that Part of the Room that was furthest from the Street, and Chain'd him down to a Staple over Night, and Loos'd him again in the Morning; and that one time, as he was lying with his back upon the Ground, and Roaring in the Extremity of his Pain, Two of the Keepers took him by Neck and Heels, and cast him Three or Four Times against the Ground.

We

We have now got over the Dark and Doleful Period of *Prance's* Conflist, betwixt a Whole Skin and a Good Conscience, and brought him from the Sordid Necessities of the *Condemn'd Hole*, to the Comfort of Meat, Drink, Lodging, and Clean Linnen again. I had no sooner Promised (says *Prance*) upon my Assurances of Pardon, that I would stand to my Former Evidence, but my Irons were Immediately knockt off; I was removed to a very good Room, and a Curious Bed in the Press-Yard, where I had Varieties of Meats and Drinks as good as I could wish.

This was the 11th. of January 167⁸.

So soon as *Prance* had compounded for the Wages of Unrighteousness, and Rock'd his Conscience Asleep, in Attending and Providing for the Security of his Carcass, he call'd for Pen, Ink, and Paper, and had his Lesson given him, to Provide for the Tryal of the Pretended Murderers, *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*; who were Convicted on Monday, February 10. 167⁸. Sentenc'd the Day following; and *Green* and *Hill* Executed on the 21th. and *Berry* Respited till the 28th.

There is Annex'd to the Printed Tryal a most Unchristian, an Uncharitable, and an Inhumane Reflexion upon the Truth, and Conscience of *Hill's* Dying Words, which is not only the Killing of a Man over again, but the Ridiculing of the most Sacred Test of Truth in Nature. I shall have occasion to Insert a Piece of the Poor Man's Letter to his Wife, in his Extremity, which will do some sort of Right to his Memory. The whole Course of the Story is a Mystery, but This shall suffice for the Present Time, Place, and Occasion.

I am now to Proceed in Course, to the Honour of the Correspondence, which the Right Reverend Bishop of *St. Asaph* was Pleas'd to Vouchsafe me upon This Subject; and in particular I Begg'd a

G

Word

Word from his Lordship to These Following Queries.

[In what State he found *Prance* in *Newgate*, with Respect to his *Owning*, or *Denying* the *Murther*? In what Condition of *Health*; and in what *Manner* he was *Chain'd* and *Fetter'd*; and whether he did not *Condition*, upon his *Discovery*, to be *Eas'd* of his *Irons*.]

His Lordship was pleased to return me an Answer to this Question, bearing Date, *April. 16. 1686.* in the Words following.

It was late (as I remember) on a *Friday*, in the *Afternoon* (*Jan. 10. 167⁸.*) when I was call'd before his Majesty in Council, and there Order'd to go to *Prance*, Then in *Newgate*; and it was quite *Dark* before I got thither. When I came to *Captain Richardson* with my Order, he brought me up into the Room where *Prance* was. I never saw it before, or since, that I remember; nor saw it then, but only by a small *Candle Light*. It was wall'd strong and close, with great Pieces of *Timber*; And yet it was very Cold through the Extreme Hardness of the Weather. *Prance* lay in the furthest Corner of the Room, from the Door, Wrapt up in a *Coverlet*, or some such kind of Thing. (Now This was the *Flock-bed*, and *Blanket* before mentioned by *Cooper*.) When the *Captain* call'd him up, he seem'd to have very little Strength in him, but with much ado, he came to me at the *Chimney*, where I think there was a little Fire; but I am not certain of this. The *Captain* withdrew, and I said to him what I ought in Obedience to the Order that was given me. He at first Deny'd his *Privy* to the *Murther* with which he was *Charg'd*, and he Confess'd Nothing of it at That Visit. But at last he desired me to come again, and then he would tell me Every thing that he knew.

When I came the next Day in the Evening, (*Jan. 11. 167⁸.*) he was brought down to the *Hall Fire*, where, for

a good while, I spoke All that was said, and he did not Answer a Word to me: perhaps he could not, for he seem'd to be Stupified with Cold. By Degrees, he seem'd to come to himself; and then complained Extremely of Pains, one while in his Arms, Another while in his Legs, Roaring with it, till the Natural Heat had prevail'd. Then he seem'd to be a New Man, and spake to me of his own Accord to This Purpose, [I remember you were with me the last Night, and then I promised you I would tell you All that I knew ;] and then he began to open to me so freely, not only of the Murther of Sir E. G. but of Designs against the Kings Life, by some Persons whom he then mentioned (by the way, Vernatti was not mentioned at that Time) that I began to be affraid of him, and warn'd him of so wicked a Thing, as the Accusing of Innocent Persons, and thereby drawing the Guilt of Their Bloud upon his Head; but he protested very solemnly, he Had told me, and would tell me nothing but the very Truth; So then I heard him out, till he said he had told me All that he knew, or all that he could Think of. Then I caus'd him to repeat it before Captain Richardson, and told him I would acquaint his Majesty with it, which he Earnestly Desired me to do, for fear These Designs should take Effect.

Then, and (as I think) not before, he desir'd he might be Eas'd of his Irons, and that he might be Lodg'd in a Warmer Room. He also desired me to help him to a Physician, complaining very much of the loss of his Health. I promis'd to remember These Things, and so left him, and went Immediately to wait on his Majesty with an Account of All that had pass'd, by whose Order I deliver'd the Enforcements in Writing that Night to Secretary Coventry; but first, (by his Majesties Order likewise) I sent Dr. Dickinson to him to be his Physician, from whom you may have a better Account of his Health then I am able to give you.

For that which is suggested of a Chain layd a-cross him, to keep him down upon the Floor, I saw no such Thing, neither do I believe it, because I found him wrapt up as I have said.]

Note; that this was the 10th. of January, that Prance was found wrapt up in This Coverlet: Cooper gave it him the same Night, as is said Already; and the Captain had received an Order the Day before, for the Admittance of the Dean. So that there was both Notice and Preparation for his Reception. Once more yet in Another of Jan. 18.

For that Complaint of the Severity of his Usage in Prison, if there was no other Cause then that which I saw, there was too much in That, as you will find by the Account I have given you. But whether this Severity was a Fault of the Jaylor, or the Sheriffs, or whose else, I know not; I found him Lodged in That which I take to be the Common Room for Guilty Felons and Murtherers; (the Condemn'd Hole) and such he had made himself by His Own Former Confession. He lay there in Irons, which I suppose is the usual Accomodation of the Place. But besides, he was very slenderly Provided against the Extreme Coldness of the Weather; which alone, I did Believe would have kill'd him, if he had continued there a few days. These Things I faithfully represented to his Majesty, and did not Conceal them from any one that ask'd me of him at That Time.

I was then so much affraid that this Hardship to a White-Liver'd-Man, of No Principles, might drive him into That Fit of Confession, that I made my Visits to him the more sparingly. I think I went not once, but when I had a Command for it, either by my Lord Clarendon, or one of the Secretaries.] But from the Credit of the Story, to the Credit of the Man.

The

The Commission of Enquiry, to the Reverend Dean of Bangor, both from his Majesty, and the Lords Committees, into This Bus'ness of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, gave his Present Lordship great Advantages of seeing further into This Intrigue than another Man; and if they had left the Story to Common Fame, without bringing in such Witnesses to make good the Imposture, as were sufficient to Blast the Credit even of Truth it self; I see nothing to the Contrary, but that it might have liv'd many a fair Day without Controll. [I never saw (says the Dean, April 16. 1686.) how Prance's Evidence could stand; and I never went about to Support it.] As for Otes's, and Bedloe's, and Prance's Enformations, they would make me (says he) Renounce Any Thing that Dependeth on their Credit.] His Lordship says again in Another of April 18.

[I believe, Prance can say nothing more then every one knows of the Murther of Sir E. G. Yet he is best able to Confute his own Fictions concerning it, and his Word may be of some Credit in This, though of None in any thing else.] And a Little Lower Thus.

[It was his Majesties Pleasure, (and That, as I remember) in Council, to Employ me to Berry, the Queens Porter, who was then a Close Pris'ner in Newgate upon Prance's Enformation. Prance had made him one of them that at Eight, or Nine of the Clock at Night went up with Sir E. G's Dead Body, as he said, into a Chamber in the Stable-Yard at Somerset-House. I Charg'd Berry with This. He told me, Upon his Salvation 'twas False. But, saith he, How could Prance Swear to This, if it were True?] He gave such Reasons for what he said, that I went to Prance with them immediately, and Endeavour'd to Convince him that it was a False, or Rash Oath that he had taken. He would not Yield, nor Abate, but still Persisted in it, and Affirm'd, Upon his Salvation, that All This Part of his Enformation was True. I

could not certainly tell which of them had forsworn himself, though I Suspected Prance much rather of the Two. But being now very sick of my Employment, I went home to my House in Leicester-fields, where Presently a Lady of Quality came in, and, having heard before that I was sent to Berry in Newgate, she, out of Curiosity, Ask'd me what I had heard of Sir E. G. I told her that I had heard That, which made my Hair stand an End: Meaning of the Two Contradictory Oaths, as I should have Explain'd my self if I had staid. But at That Instant I was call'd away to Whitehall; and the Good Lady went away with the Belief that I had heard such Things from Berry of That Murther; which being blown about the Town, it was expected I should have made great Discoveries, while I, on the other Hand, Questioned all that had been made. This enraged a Faction against me. They said that Berry had Confess'd most Horrible Things to me, as I Acknowledged, before I went to the Court; but that There I was Charm'd into Concealment. And Again in Another of May the 2d. Following.

Prance's Enformation was such as made me much affraid of him; for I could not satisfy my self, but that if Those things were True, of the Plots against the King's Life, that he pretended to Discover, he must have Discover'd them sooner, while he was Second to Bedloe; though then I should not have been apt to Believe him, for other Reasons. But now I was extremely Distrustful, and therefore came as little near him as I could.

Having Proceeded thus far with all Simplicity, and Openness upon This Subject, it will be now Matter of Respect to This Reverend Person, as well as Common Justice to the Truth of the Story, to Touch upon some other Passages that Naturally fall under Consideration, and may be found Lyable to a Sinister Construction, if I should be wholly Silent in the Point.

I took the Liberty to Crave (among other Things,) his Lordships Favourable Explanation of a Certain Expression, pag. 24. in his Funeral Sermon, upon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. The Words are These.

I was told it Some Hours before the Discovery, that he was found with his own Sword through his Body: Others could tell that he had Two Wounds about him. These Things were found to be True some Hours after.

To the Enquiry above, His Lordships Answer of April 16 1686. was This.

It was Mr. Angus, now or lately Curat of St. Dunstons in the West, that told me he heard Sir E. B. G. was found Dead with his own Sword thrust through his Body. This he told me before Dinner, on the Thursday in which Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body was found, in that manner, (as I heard it afterwards in every ones Mouth) about Two or Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

When I heard of This before Dinner, I sent presently my Man Peter Fuller to enquire in Sir E. Godfrey's Family, What they had heard of this News. My Man brought me word that they had heard of no such Thing. Thereupon, Enquiring no further, I went and Din'd with some Friends in the City, and did not return home till the Evening. Then, at my Return, I heard every one speak of the finding of his Body at Primrose-Hill. Whereupon I sent again to his House, that enquiry should be made after the Author's of Mr. Angus's Story. At that Time I was wholly a Stranger to the Brothers of Sir E. B. G. But they told me afterwards, that they went to Mr. Angus, and took him with them to enquire after the Authors: and that they had heard the News from Others, with this Enlargement, that it was said that he was found Dead with Two Wounds.

Upon This I Discours'd with Mr. Angu, who gave me an Enformation of the Matter by word of Mouth, and afterward deliver'd upon Oath as follows.

Adam Angu Deposeth, That this Enformant dined at the Wool-sack in Ivy-Lane, with one Mr. Oswald, a Minister, upon the Thursday, whereon the Body of Sir Edmund-B. Godfrey was said to be found, about Five in the Afternoon, in a Dutch upon Primrose-Hill: and that after Dinner, This Enformant went in Company with the above said Mr. Oswald, to the Shop of Mr. Chiswell a Book-seller in St. Pauls-Church-yard, This Enformant stood for some time, Leaning over the Counter, and reading some Printed Papers there; Mr. Oswald being in the Shop at the same time, at a Distance from him. And when This Enformant had been about a Quarter of an hour in the Shop, (about One of the Clock as he believeth) a Young-Man, in a Grey-Colour'd Suit passing by, Clapt This Enformant on the Shoulder, and This Enformant looking towards him, Do you hear the News? says he; This Enformant asking him What News? He Answered, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey is found. This Enformant asked him Where? The Other Answer'd, In Leicester-Fields, at the Dead Wall, with his own Sword run through him. This Enformant Discovering himself to be Surpriz'd at the News, Mr. Oswald asked the Enformant what the matter was? Who related it to him as above; And This Enformant doth not remember any further Discourse upon it.

This Enformant hereupon went Immediately to Dr. Burnet, having some Dependence upon him at That Time, as an Ammanuensis to him in his History of the Reformation, and Entrusted with the Care of the Press.

Upon This Enformants telling Dr. Burnet, what he had heard, as above, the said Dr. desir'd This Enformant to take a Coach, and Ask Dr. Lloyd about it. This Enformant

formant went accordingly, and found that the Dr. knew Nothing of it. The Dr. immediately sending his Servant to enquire about it in Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Family, who brought back word, that they had heard Nothing of the News. This Enformant staying there about a Quarter of an Hour for the Boys Return.

This Enformant Presumeth, that the Dr. had not as yet Din'd, because both the Dr. and his Lady earnestly desired This Enformant to stay and Dine.

And further; This Enformant neither did, nor doth know, or so much as Guess at the Name of the Person that told him the News; Nor doth he remember, that ever he saw the said Person, either before or since the Time above-mentioned. But This Enformant doth Reasonably perswade himself, by the Manner of the Other Persons speaking to him This Enformant, that He the said Person might have some Knowledge of This Enformant.

And moreover, that This Enformant never heard any thing of the Murther, or the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, before he heard it, standing in Chiswells Shop, as aforesaid.

Since the Enformation above, I have found out Mr. Oswald, who gives the Following Account upon the Matter in Question.

John Oswald Deposeth, That upon the Thursday, when the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be found, he Din'd at the Woolfack in Ivy-Lane, with Mr. Adam Angus, and that staying there together a pretty while after Dinner, they went, about Two a Clock (as he Believeth) to Mr. Chiswell's Shop in St. Pauls-Churchyard; Mr. Angus being at that part of the Counter next the Street; And This Enformant at a Distance; A Servant of the House being present in the Shop. And that after some time spent there, the said Mr. Angus said to him

him with some Wonder, that one passing by, said, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found Dead in Leicester-Fields with his own Sword run through him; but that He This Enformant, neither Saw the Man, nor Heard any such Thing said; neither (as he remembers) did the Servant of the House take any Notice of it, till after he was gone; Mr. Angus hereupon going his way.

Beyond All-Doubt, Mr. Angus Carry'd the First News of it to Dr. Lloyd, and the Dr. Din'd in the City That day; And if Mr. Oswald had not taken it to be an Hour Later when This happen'd in Mr. Chiffmell's Shop, then Mr. Angus did, I should have thought that Mr. Angus himself had been an Hour too Late; for he makes it past One of the Clock, Himself, when he went to Dr. Burnet in Lincolns-Inn-Fields: And after That, he goes to Dr. Lloyd in Leicester-Fields, (and before Dinner still) He stays there till Peter Fuller goes to Harts-horn-Lane, and comes back again, and Time enough after all This yet, for the Dr. to go into the City to Dinner. I was, I must Confess, a Little Diffident at first, Considering No body else either Saw the Person, or Heard the Words; Whether there might not be a Fetch-in't, to put such a Story about; till the Fair Character I had of Mr. Angus, Resolv'd that seeming Incongruity into a Mistake of the Time. But This should have been follow'd, they'll say, while Things were fresh, and People in the way. Now This Objection lyes open to several Answers. First it was Attempted, but to No Purpose, and Attempted by My Self too; While People were yet Living, and the Report at the Hottest; and the Story is This.

Mr. William Goldsborough the Younger was Under the Barbers hands, and while he was a Trimming, comes a Person

Person into the Shop, Open-Mouth'd, That Sir Edmund Godfrey was found. It was Ask'd where, and his Answer was, That he had kill'd himself upon Primrose Hill. This was upon Tuesday Morning, while he was missing; and upon Thursday following in the Evening, the Body was There found. I talk'd with Mr. Goldsborough my Self about it, and ask'd him, if either He or the Barber knew the Man? He said, No: But if he saw him again, he thought he should know him from All the Men in the World. What? said I, did he come into the Shop only to tell his Tale, and be Gone again? No, (says he) It may be he was in haste to be Trimm'd, and could not stay. I had the First Account of it from his Mother; a Person of Sense, and of Value, and she told it, not without Reflexion and Admiration. This Mr. Goldsborough succeeding his Father to the Clerks Place in the House of Commons, I went into Mans Coffee-house in the Court of Requests, while the Parliament was Sitting, and Mr. Goldsborough in his Place; and there I told Sir Thomas Player of This, with Several Other Members in his Company; Desired them to Represent the Matter to the House, and to get Mr. Goldsborough Examin'd about it; Propounding some not Unlikely Ways of finding it out my self. I could not learn, after all my Diligence, and Zeal, that any of them ever so much as mentioned This, afterward, either in the House, or to the Clerk: For what Reason, no Mortal can Imagine, unless that some of 'em were affraid the Truth should be brought to Light. Sir Thomas Player and Mr. Goldsborough are Dead since; but the Story is Published in an *Observer*, Num. 123. Vol. I. April 15. 1682.

Another Reason for Not Pressing This Matter too far so Early-Days, was the Danger of an Honest Mans Attempting the Discovery of what the Cabal had

had a Mind to *Conceal*; Witness the *Riotous Affronts* upon the Sacredness of *Publique Justice*, so often as any Witnesses appear'd in favour of the *Truth*, and the *Pris'ner*. Nay, so far were Those Times from *Suffering* any Man that *Generously*, and *Conscienciously* stood up as an Advocate for *Oppressed Innocence*, that *Corall the Coachman*, *Bromwell*, *Walters*, and several Others, were Allmost *Murther'd*, because they would not be *Murtherers*, and because they would not *For-swear Themselves* to take away the *Lives of Honest Men*. To say Nothing of Those that Suffer'd *Death Outright* upon That Score.

C H A P. X.

Why This History was not Published sooner. Their Wayes of Suppressing the Truth; as in the Case of Bromwell, Walters, Gibbon, Corall, &c. and of Encouraging False Witnesses.

THE whole *Intrigue* of This *Murther* being an *Imposture*; and the *Pretended Conspiracy* that was wrapt up in't, a meer *Fiction*, there could be No thought of *Supporting One Cheat*, but by *Another*: And the *Credit* of it was not to be *Bolster'd* up but by a *Sham-Evidence*. This was the *Reason* of the Thing, and These *Two Ends* were the *Two Main Points*: wherein they Govern'd Themselves by a certain *General Rule*, of making it as *Dangerous*, as *Detrimental*, as *Scandalous*, *Fruitless*, and *Inconvenient*, on the One side, to *Detect*, or to *Invalidate a Forgery*, as the *Contrary*, on the Other hand, to *Affert*, *Swear-it-up*, and *Maintain* it. This was the *Policy* and the *Practice* of Those Times, when *Knights of the Post* were *Christen'd*

sten'd Kings Evidences; and Men of Honour stigmatiz'd for Conspirators. This was the Case; and People will be apt to say perhaps, that it was a Sad Story too; but the Murther of Godfrey, they Cry, was a Question of Another Season, Why comes it out so Late? or Rather, What Need on't at All? I have Answer'd the Former in the Close of the Last Chapter. The People were not in Tune at That Time for the Impartial Truth of Things, and a Man might as well have talk'd Reason to a Tempest, as to the Multitude. In short, Nothing more Familiar, then Instances of Men that were Ruin'd, for but Discovering Barely a Good Will to the Good Office. In fine, This is not an Age for Devotees; and the Humour of Mens Sacrificing themselves for the Good of their Country, is worn mightily out of Fashion: So that there's No Great Wonder in't, if People were Wary of Medling, when they were only to be Undone for their Pains. But This was not a Thing to be expected, so long as the Kingdom lay Trembling and Groaning under the Awe and Tyranny of the Plot-Faction; and therefore it was but Reasonable to Wait, till Honest Men might come once again to have a Clear Stage, and Fair Judges.

As to the Second Objection, of the Season being Past, and Consequently the Use, and Service of such an Enformation, I have This to say for my self, that if the Sacredness of Truth be at All Times, and upon All Occasions, within the Compass of Discretion, and Good Manners, to be Preserv'd: Nay, to carry it yet Higher and Higher; If the Setting of all Christendom right, upon a Subject wherein they have been abus'd by Thousands of False and Scandalous Papers and Reports, to the Dishonour of the King, the Royal Family, This Imperial Government, and the English Nation: If the doing of All This, I say, be a Thing Necessary to be done (to the Highest Degree of a Moral Necessity) I can then Justifie
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my self to be at This Instant, in the Exercise of a
Needful, as well as a Warrantable Duty.

But now the Objection of [*Why so Late?*] seems to look Two Ways : First, for Instance, as who should say, 'Tis Pity 'twas done no sooner ; Implying a Thing fit to be done : And this same, [*Why so late,*] Another way Taken, may Import quite Another Meaning, as who should say again, [*He durst not meddle with it while People were Living and Matters fresh in their Memories ;*] Now this Suggestion is so far from Reflecting a Prejudice upon the Testimony of the Kings Witnesses, or the Reputation of That Cause : so far, I say, from a Disadvantage on That side, and an Advantage, on the Other ; that I shall Allow the Testimony of the Kings Witnesses to be of the same force Now, that it was Before, and pay the same Deference to the Proofs of the Dead Witnesses, on That side, that I do to the Living. So that Their Cause is just in the same State Now that it was Before : Whereas the Delay, on the Other Hand, has made it Infinitely Harder to Detect the Sham at This Distance, then it was so long ago. For there are I know not how many Stabbing Witnesses Dead since (who Durst not open their Mouths when the Prosecution was afoot) that would have Spoken to the Practices of Prance, and Bedloe ; the Discoveries they made in their Froliques, The Privacies of That Interval, betwixt Sir Edmunds Departure from his House, and the finding of his Body : And All These are Lost Now to My Purpose, Any further then as to the Hearsay, of what they spake upon Knowledge. And yet in Despite of Calumny, Oblivion, nay of Death it Self, the Light of the Noon-Day-Sun shall not be more Universally Acknowledged by All Men that have Eyes in their Heads, then the Clearness of the Matter here in Question, to All Those that are not Sworn Enemies to Plain-Dealing,

and

and Common Sense: I shall only give some few Instances when I come to That Topique, out of a great Many, and lay No more Stress upon them, then in Equity the Presumption will bear.

To come Now to the Methods that were Us'd for the Frighting, the Baffling, or the Suppressing of Fair Witnesses, and for the Suborning, the Engaging, the Protecting, and Countenancing of Profligate Mercenaries that will swear any Thing; This Practice, in the First place, Answers the Question [Why so Late;] And it comes Next to be Consider'd, What it was, How it was Manag'd, and what Effects it Produc'd.

There is but Soul, Body, Reputation, Life, Limb, Liberty, and Estate, the Comfort of Friends, Relations, and Humane Society, that a Man has to Consider in This World; and every Man as he Likes, when he comes to the Touch, upon This Point.

[Here was the Body of a Magistrate found Dead in a Ditch, in such Manner and with such Circumstances, as has been said Over and Over already: Now it was Highly Expedient, at That Time, to make a Popish Assassination of it, and so to Close-Draw it into the same Piece with the Popish Plot. During the Innocency of the First Heat, there was a Warm Application made to his Late Majesty, for the Promise of a Reward, upon the Discovery, to the Discoverers of it. There was (as it happen'd) the Snare of a Dilemma upon the King. Cover'd Under This Proposition; A Refusal would have been Interpreted a Popish Inclination, in favour of the Plot, and had Infallibly been made use of as a Mighty Stumbling-block: In Case of Yielding, it was Constructively, but so much Money offer'd to any Man, that Right or Wrong would swear Himself into a Discovery. But there was However a Proclamation Emitted, a Reward of Five Hundred Pound Promis'd, and William Bedloe (or Beddoe) was the First that Leapt
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at the *Bair*. The *Wheel* was now in *Motion*; Here's a *second Witness* to the *Plot*, and a *single Evidence* to the *Murder*. But the *Plot*, by *Good Manage*, was so *Artificially Link'd* to the *Murder*, that *Both Works* were put in a *Way* to go on *Together*. In one *Word*, they were to make their *Market*, among an *Abandon'd sort* of *People*, that had *Neither Honour*, nor *Conscience*: and the *Profligate*, and the *Fearful*, were the *Men* for their *Turns*, so many as would be wrought upon by *Money*, *Liberty*, *Protection*, *Indemnity*, or *Popular Applause*, to act against *All Principles of Faith*, *Truth* and *Conscience*, were *Instruments* for their *Purpose*: And *This* was it which they call'd the *Providence* of *Raising* so many *Witnesses* out of *Dungeons*, and *Alms-Baskets*, for the *Preservation* of our *Sovereign*, and our *Religion*: And at the same *Time*, there were *Catch-Poles*, *Purseruants*, *Jayles*, *Pillories*, and *Gibbets* at hand, for the doing of any *Man's Business* that oppos'd *These Violences*, either by *Word*, or *Deed*; and *Preserv'd* a good *Conscience*, to the *Contempt* of *All Bodily*, or *Worldly Interests*. *This* was the *General Course*, and *Bias* of their *Proceedings*; and I think a *Man* may safely say *This* of them, They were so *Merciful* in their *Wrath*, so *Placable*, or in other words, they had so much *Wit* in their *Anger*, as in a *Political Construction* to make *Every Man* whose *Life* they took away, a kind of *Felo de se*, by *Chusing* rather to *Dye Innocent*, then to *Live Guilty*; and to run *All Honest Hazards*, *Themselves*, rather than to accuse others, *Wrongfully*: But the *Particular Master-stroke* was *This*. The *Guilty* accus'd the *Innocent*, and they were immediately *Taken-up* upon't; and in *This Condition*, there was but *Two Oaths*, and *Those Two Oaths* Concerted in *Two Minutes*, betwixt *Any Man's Neck*, and the *Gallows*. Now in *This Pinch*, the *Pris'ner* had no other *Choice* before him, then either by a *False Oath* to *Hang Other People*; or by a *True one* to *Hang Himself*. *This* has

has been the Case of Many and Many an *Innocent Person*, since the Broaching of *Otes's Pretended Discovery*; and it has been a *Wonderful Mercy*, that *More* have not *shrunk* under the *Temptation*. But as to the *Voluntier-Witnesses* now, they were such a Parcel of *Dissolute Miscreants* in the *Whole Habit* of their *Lives*, that their *Souls* were scarce *Black*er, *After* the *Perjury* then they were *Before*.

We have been here speaking of their *Practices* upon such as have been formally *Accus'd*, *Articled*, and *Impeach'd*, &c. [And Then says *Bedloe* of *Prance*, when I went into the *House of Lords*, I made out My *Charge* against him. *Green's Tryal*, pa. 34.] But now there were *Another* sort of *People* too, that, as a *Man* may say, fell into the *Toyl* by *Chance*; and This in *Twenty Several Cases*: But I am here upon the *Bus'ness* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, and I'll keep to My *Subject*.

The *Two Persons* that Found the *Stick*, and the *Gloves*, that gave the *First Light* to the *Discovery*, of the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, did their *Duties* *Honestly*, and *Discreetly*, upon That occasion, as Will appear by the *Enformations* here following: and we shall see the *Thanks* they had for their *Pains*: Over and above a very *Good Reason* Why This was not done While *Matters* were *Fresh*.

VWilliam Bummell Deposeth, That This *Enformant*, together with one *John Walters* Passing by *Primrose Hill* toward the *White House*, about *Three* or *Four* in the *Afternoon* of That *Thursday*, when the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was found; saw a *Cane* and a *Pair* of *Gloves*, lying within a *Thicket*, upon a *Green Bank* near the *Ditch*, This *Enformant* and the said *Walters* went forward to the *White-house*: Where, as they were *Drinking* together, speaking of the said *Gloves*, and *Stick*: and likewise of a *Belt* lying with them, (as This *Enformant*

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remembers)

at the *Bair*. The *Wheel* was now in *Motion*; Here's a *second Witness* to the *Plot*, and a *single Evidence* to the *Murther*. But the *Plot*, by Good Manage, was so *Artificially Link'd* to the *Murther*, that *Both Works* were put in a Way to go-on *Together*. In one Word, they were to make their *Market*, among an *Abandon'd* sort of People, that had Neither *Honour*, nor *Conscience*: and the *Profligate*, and the *Fearful*, were the Men for their *Turns*, so many as would be wrought upon by *Money*, *Liberty*, *Protection*, *Indemnity*, or *Popular Applause*, to act against All Principles of *Faith*, *Truth* and *Conscience*, were *Instruments* for their *Purpose*: And This was it which they call'd the *Providence* of *Raising* so many *Witnesses* out of *Dungeons*, and *Alms-Baskets*, for the *Preservation* of our *Sovereign*, and our *Religion*: And at the same Time, there were *Catch-Poles*, *Purservants*, *Jayles*, *Pillories*, and *Gibbets* at hand, for the doing of any Man's *Bus'ness* that oppos'd These *Violences*, either by *Word*, or *Deed*; and *Preserv'd* a good *Conscience*, to the *Contempt* of All *Bodily*, or *Worldly Interests*. This was the *General Course*, and *Bias* of their *Proceedings*; and I think a Man may safely say This of them, They were so *Merciful* in their *Wrath*, so *Placable*, or in other words, they had so much *Wit* in their *Anger*, as in a *Political Construction* to make Every Man whose *Life* they took away, a kind of *Felo de se*, by Chusing rather to *Dye Innocent*, then to *Live Guilty*; and to run All *Honest Hazards*, *Themselves*, rather than to accuse others, *Wrongfully*: But the *Particular Master-stroke* was This. The *Guilty* accus'd the *Innocent*, and they were *Immediately Taken-up* upon't; and in This Condition, there was but *Two Oaths*, and *Those Two Oaths* Concerted in *Two Minutes*, betwixt Any Man's Neck, and the *Gal-lows*. Now in This Pinch, the *Pris'ner* had no other Choice before him, then either by a *False Oath* to *Hang* Other People; or by a *True* one to *Hang* himself. This

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VWilliam Brumwell Deposeth, That This *Enformant*, together with one *John Walters* Passing by *Primrose Hill* toward the *White House*, about *Three or Four* in the *Afternoon* of That *Thursday*, when the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was found; saw a *Cane* and a *Pair* of *Gloves*, lying within a *Thicket*, upon a *Green Bank* near the *Ditch*, This *Enformant* and the said *Walters* went forward to the *White-house*: Where, as they were *Drinking* together, speaking of the said *Gloves*, and *Stick*: and likewise of a *Belt* lying with them, (as This *Enformant*

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remembers) It was Propos'd, and Agreed, to go down to the Place to see whether they were there still: And being come Thither, the Master of the White-house stooping to take them up, started back on the sudden, saying, [Lord Bless us! There's a Man Murther'd] This Enformant, and the Company, after a very Little stay, and without Touching the Body, or Medling with the Gloves, and Stick, that lay by, went away presently to Mr. Brown, who was then Constable; And upon This Enformants, and the Others Description of the Person to Mr. Brown, he said to This Effect; I wish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

And that in the way from Primrose Hill, to Mr. Browns, This Enformant with his Company, Met one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, at Cony-bury Hall, And told him, that they had found a Man Dead in such a Place, Naming the Place, and Considering what was best to do in it: The said Jennings replying, You had best let it Alone, and take No further Notice for fear You should come into Trouble about it.] Rawson Rebuking the said Jennings for Talking at that Rate, and so they Parted from the said Jennings.

And saith Likewise, that about the Latter end of Octob. 1678. This Enformant and John VValters abovesaid, were Taken up, and brought before the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house, the Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair, where they were Examin'd, and this Enformant severely Threatned by the Earl of Shaftsbury, and Committed to Newgate. And about Ten days after; This Enformant was sent for again, Where the Lord Shaftsbury Declar'd, That This Enformant was set on by some Great Roman Catholique to find out the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And if any Man ever was Hang'd, He should be Hang'd if he did not Discover it.

And further, that after These Menaces of the Lord Shaftsbury, Major W----- took This Enformant into a By-Place,

By-Place, and there ask'd This Enformant Why he would not Discover VVho set him on, for he should have 500 l. Reward, His Life Secur'd, &c.] Still Pressing This Enformant as aforesaid: This Enformant telling him, that he had spoke What he Knew already, and that He Could say no More, nor Would he Accuse any Man Falsly.

And Moreover, That This Enformant was kept about Nine-Weeks a Prisoner in Newgate, without suffering Any body to come to him, saving only that This Enformant's Wife had an Order from the Duke of Buckingham, Twice, to Visit him.

John Walters Deposeth, that He This Enformant Walking with William Bromwell toward the White-house, upon the Day when Justice Godfrey's Body was found, saw a Cane, and a Pair of Gloves, upon a Bank near Primrose Hill, about Three or Four in the Afternoon: And as they were Drinking afterwards at the White-house, speaking of the said Gloves, and Stick, they went down to the Place to see if they were there still, the Master of the House going along with them, who being come to the place, and stooping to take up the Gloves, started back, and Cry'd, Lord Bless us! There's a Man Murther'd: This Enformant and Company made very Little stay after This, but left things as they found them, and went away to see for a Constable, and were Directed to one Mr. Brown, Who upon Describing the Body, said to This Effect, I VVish it be not Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

And that as they were upon the Way to get a Constable, they met One Jennings, and told him of a Body they had found in such a Place; Naming the Place; Whose answer was, I take You for Neighbours and Friends, I do 'een advise you to say Nothing on't, but let some body else find it out, for you may bring your selves into a Great

Deal of Trouble: This Enformant and the Company Blaming Jennings for Talking so; And then they Parted. And saith, that about the Latter end of October, 1678. This Enformant was Taken up by One that belonged to the Duke of Buckingham, (as he told This Enformant) and Carried to the Lords Committees at VVallingford-house, the Day that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body was Bury'd: The Late Earl of Shaftsbury being in the Chair; and Titus Otes appointed to See if he Knew This Enformant; The said Earl Threatning This Enformant very severely; and This Enformant was Committed thereupon to the Gate-house, where he was Fetter'd, and Hand-Cuff'd, and kept in the Dungeon for Three Days, and Three Nights.

That about Eight or Ten Days after his Commitment, This Enformant was sent for again to the Lords Committees, when the said Lord Shaftsbury took This Enformant aside into a By-Closet, speaking to him to This Effect, [Honest Smug the Smith, Thou look'st like an Honest Fellow, Thou shalt shoe my Horses, and I'll make a Man of thee: saying further, Tell me who Murther'd This Man, and who set thee to find him out? VVhat Papists dost thou VVork for? And so the said Earl went on, Pressing This Enformant to the same Effect; This Enformant making Answer, My Lord, If I knew Your self had Murther'd him, I would Discover it, though I Dy'd for't, This Enformant telling the said Earl, as well as he Could remember for what Customers he Wrought; After which, This Enformant was Deliver'd up to the Keeper, but presently call'd back, and Discharg'd.

For a VVord of Introduction to what now follows, Mrs. Mary Gibbon, the VVife of Captain Thomas Gibbon was related to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and No Creature more his Confident then This Lady was, as will be further seen hereafter: But at Present, I have only

to observe, that when This Matter was at the Hottest before the *Lords Committees*, This Mr. Gibbon Deliver'd a Paper (the Contents whereof she hath since Attested upon Oath) to a Person of Quality, Sir I. B. who deliver'd the Paper to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; And upon This Paper Mrs. Gibbon was sent for to Attend the *Committee*, where (to speak the Words of the Enformation.)

The Lord *Shaftsbury* call'd to her, saying, You Damn'd Woman, what Devilish Paper is This you have given us in? Putting her upon her Oath to Declare who Wrote it; calling her Bitch, and other Vile Names, and Threatning her, That if she would not Confess, that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Monsieur de Puy set her on to write that Paper, she should be Torn to Pieces by the Multitude; Threatning her to have her Worry'd as the Dogs Worry Cats, insomuch that she fell into Fits upon't, and thought she should never have got home.

Note, that the Enformation above spoken of, was Deliver'd to Sir *Leoline Jenkins* several Years before ever I had the Knowledge of her Person; and that she Deliver'd me a Copy of the said Enformation, with This following Postscript at the Bottom of it.

I Mary Gibbon am Indisposed in Health; but whether I Live, or Dye, in the Presence of God, and his Holy Angels, I do make Oath, that this is every Syllable True; And I have left the same, and made Oath of it to a Worthy Gentleman, a Secretary of State very Lately; and if I Live till 'tis Questioned, I will Witness it.

There remains yet a very remarkable Instance of the Faith and Generosity of a Poor Hackney Coach-man; his Name Francis Corral; And if I could Contribute as much to the making of his Fortune, as I may to the

vantage of his *Name*, and *Reputation*, it should be the first Thing I would do ; for they wanted but a *Second Evidence against the Lords in the Tower* ; and Forty other Persons of Eminent Quality, that were laid up in *La-vender*, to be in readiness for the *Providence* of a *Further Discovery* ; and if this Poor Fellow had but Yielded, *Bedloe's Coach* would have done the *Jobb* of carrying Sir *Edmund* to *Primrose-Hill*, every Jot as well as *Prance's* way of *Horsing* him Thither : And so for *Brumwell* and *Walters* too : Either of them would have serv'd, some Way or Another, to the same Purpose. This Bus'ness of *Corrall* is a Barbarous Story ; but I'll be as easie in the Telling of it, as is Possible, with a Respect, both to *Decency*, and to *Common Justice*. The Truth of it is, The Severity of his Imprisonment could not well Exceed the very Direction of the Orders that the Keeper had for the Mortifying of him ; and *Corrall Himself* does likewise Charge many Cruelties upon the Under Keepers, which he cannot say the Master was Privy to. But be it as it will, we shall here Deliver *Corrall's Enformation*, for so much as concerns the matter before us, in his own Words : Giving only to understand by the way, that he was taken into Custody some a Fortnight or thereabouts, after the Body was found, upon an *Officious Enformation* of Some Words he had spoken concerning the Carrying of it to *Primrose-Hill* : Whereupon he was had to *Newgate*, and next Day to *Wallingford-House*, where he was Sworn, and Exam'n'd ; of which Examination he gives This Account.

Francis Corrall Deposeth, That The Lord Shaftsbury, with others, asked this Enformant if he carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to *Primrose-Hill* in his Coach, or knew who Carry'd him ? To which, This Enformant Answered, That he did Not, and that he Knew not who did. The Lord Shaftsbury said to this

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Enformant, That if he would swear the Truth, he should have Five Hundred Pound: The said Lord Shaftsbury laying down some Mony upon the Table, saying, that this *Enformant* should have a Room near the Court, if he was affraid of any Body that set him to Work, and should Command a File of Musquetiers, at any time when he had Occasion to go abroad, to Guard him, for fear any of Those that employ'd him, should do him any Mischief. This *Enformant* asked him, my Lord, Who should those be? No body set me at Work; Nor do I know for what I am brought hither. To which the Lord Shaftsbury reply'd, We are the Peers of the Land; and if thou wilt not Confess, there shall be a Barrel of Nails provided for thee, to put thee in, and roul thee down a Hill. The *Enformant* made Answer, What would you have me to say, my Lord? I know nothing of the matter, would you have me to accuse other People, to bring them into the same Condition I now am? The Lord Shaftsbury Answering, Then thou shalt Dye. Whereupon a Mittimus was Drawn, and this *Enformant* carry'd back and Committed to Newgate.

This *Enformant* was laid in Huge Heavy Irons, and thrust into the Dungeon; where, after he had continued about three or four Hours, he was Taken out again, by Lyon, one of the Keepers, who likewise was the Man that put this *Enformant* into the Dungeon. And this *Enformant* was so faint with the Closeness and Nastiness of the Place, that he swooned away, and that they were fain to give him Brandy to keep Life in him.

This *Enformant* Recollecteth, that before his coming from Wallingford House, the Lord Shaftsbury said to This effect, The Papists have Hir'd him, and he will not Confess.

He was now remanded to Prison, and about Three in the Afternoon, they had him to a House in Lincolns-

Int. Fields, where the Lord Shaftsbury Examined him again.

Saying to this Enformant, Now you Rogue; Here's one that will Justifie he saw you (speaking of one that stood there to bear Witness;) The Lord Shaftsbury saying to the said Person, Did not you see him Whip his Horses, and go down by Tottenham-Court? The Man saying, Yes my Lord? [Sirrah, (said the Lord Shaftsbury to This Enformant) What's the Reason that you will not confesse, but put us to All this Trouble? This Enformant speaking hastily, said, What would you have me confesse, my Lord? I know no more than your Lordship does, and it may be, not so much: Then said the Lord Shaftsbury, If thou wilt not Confesse, Richardson, take him away, and let him be starv'd to Death; which made this Enformant to weep: Whereupon the Lord Shaftsbury reply'd, Ah Rogue! There's never a Tear comes down; This Enformant with Imprecations telling my Lord, that he knew no more than the Child that was unborn: That's a Popish Word (says my Lord Shaftsbury) He has consulted with the Papists, and will not Confesse; bidding Richardson take him away, and punish him severely. This was Thursday; and this Enformant was kept in Great Irons in the Condemn'd Hole, till Sunday Noon, without any thing to Eat or Drink, which put This Enformant into so great Despair, that if his Knife had not dropt out of his Hand, he had Kill'd Himself. On Monday Morning this Enformant was led into the House of Lords, where one of the Lords bad Richardson bring this Enformant into the Committee, where this Enformant saw the same Lords as before; and the Lord Shaftsbury spake after This Manner to this Enformant, [Come (says he) thou lookest like an honest Fellow, tell us the Truth, and thou shalt have the same Reward that was promised thee at Wallingford-House; and then thou shalt go presently home to thy Wife and Children, and we will secure thee

thee from any Harm: What dost thou say to us all? Now speak. Then *This Enformant* fell down upon his Knees, and said, I know nothing of it, and before I wrong any Man, I will Dye Immediately. *The Lord Shaftsbury* replying, Thou art such a Peremptory Rogue, thou shalt go back to Newgate, and lye and Rot there a while. And then thou shalt be brought to be tryed at the Sessions, and then there will come enow against thee, and thou shalt be Hang'd. Hadst thou not better Confess the Truth, and have that Mony, then be brought before the Barr of the Judges, and be condemn'd to be Hang'd? It will be a Dreadful Hearing for Thee. [Yes, my Lord, (*said this Enformant*) I know it will be a Dreadful Hearing: But, my Lord, It will be a more Dreadful Hearing for me, at the Lord's Bar, if I should wrongfully accuse any Man; it will be a more Dreadful Hearing, when it shall be said, Take him away Devil, for he hath falsly Accus'd those he knew no hurt by. Whereupon the Lord Shaftsbury said, I see we can do no good with him; take him away, and let him lye there and Rot. *This Enformant* Pleading that he had a Wife, and Children; the Lord Shaftsbury Answered, Let his Wife and Children starve. *This Enformant* lay in the Condemn'd Hole with Heavy Irons, Six Weeks and Three Days; and afterwards, Seven Weeks on the Common Side upon Bords, without Irons.

This Enformant saith also, that He Complaining at a Time uncertain, of his Ill Usage, one Richard, and one that was commonly call'd John-Come-Last, said, that their Master had Power from my Lord Shaftsbury, and the Committee, to torment this Enformant, if he would not Confess. *This Enformant* saith likewise, that a Tall Man in a Ministers Habit, was with him in the Condemn'd Hole, Pressing him to Confess; and Pressing him, *This Enformant* several times to Confess, after that
he

had Imprecated himself that he knew Nothing of the matter.

And faith, That this Enformant, as he was reading the 20th. Chapter of the Revelation aloud in the Hole, He this Enformant heard of a sudden, the rattling of Chains, and Roaring like that of a Bear, Believing it to be an Evil Spirit, and that the Door had been Open : In this Fright, This Enformant let his Candle fall, and in the Dark he was more affraid, the Noise continuing near a Quarter of an Hour : This Enformat had been now about a Fortnight in the Hole ; and afterward, telling one Harris and some others of the Keepers, how this Enformant was Terrify'd, They made him Answer, If you do not Confess, the Devil will have you.

There are so many Instances of this Kind, that the Proceedings at length, would make rather the *History* of a Persecution, then the *Narrative* of a Conspiracy: But in one Word, He had Two Great Holes worn in his right Leg ; One in his left : He was Eight Weeks after his Discharge, before he was able to Drive a Coach again. He got Salve for These Wounds at Sir Thomas Witherley's ; and likewise of Mr. Knolles the Surgeon. He is able to produce Forty Witnesses that saw These Wounds : But it must not be omitted, that his Misery gave the Earl of Clarendon a great Tendernefs for him, insomuch, that he Viewed his Ulcers himself, took Compassion of the Man, and gave him Money.

There are Two Objections that I expect will be made to This Account of the Hard Usage both of Prance and Corral. The Former, while he was under the Power of the Lying Spirit ; and went on without either Fear, or Wit ; was brought a Witness at Mrs. Celier's Tryal, where his Evidence in the Colloquy, or Context, was as follows.

Mr. Bar. Weston. Mr. Prance ; Pray were you ever Tortur'd in Prison ?

[Mr.

[Mr. Prance.] No, I never saw any such Thing there in my Life.

Mr. Bar. Weston. How were you used?

Mr. Prance. Very well, I had every thing that was fitting; Captain Richardfon did take great Care of me, &c. And a little after.

Mr. Prance (again) Dr. Lloyd was with me many times for half an hour together, and if any such thing had been, he would have seen it, Celiers Tryal, p. 25.

Now This was a Cast of Mr. Prances Civility and Good Nature; but he was Mightily Overseen to Appeal to Dr. Lloyd in't; who found him Roaring under his Pains, and Almost Kill'd with the Misery of his Condition; but all this while, the Keeper had his Orders how to use him.

Corrall was Also to be made use of, for the same Jobb; but This shall Suffice, (Unless I shall be Absolutely Forc'd to say more on't) that the Marks he Carries to This Day, are Ten Thousand Witnesses of the Hardship he Endur'd.

But in the End, when Prance came to stand to't, that the Body was Carry'd a Horse-back, Corrall, upon very Good Security, was Discharg'd for not Carrying him in his Coach.

This was their Way of Compassing Witnesses, where People were not Wicked Enough to go to the Devil of their own Accord: And the same Method went thorough the Whole Tract of their Proceedings in All such Cases, and with all Persons therein Concern'd. The Choice was short, Either Stand out and be Hang'd, or Confess and be Damn'd. But to take up where we left.

We brought Prance to his New Lodgings on the 11th. and there we find him, with Mr. Boyce at his Bedside, on the 12th. of January, 1678. According to his

his own Relation, and upon the Preparatory for the Tryal of the Persons whom he had Accus'd. He had, even at That Time, some Grudgings of Another Relapse, Exclayming sometimes by Fits, that he had Sworn False; and that he was Utterly Ruin'd. But being still Ply'd with the Memory of what he had Confess'd Already, and the Hammering of it into his Head, that he would be Hang'd if he went off: And that if either Green, Berry, or Hill, should come to Confess Before him, he was a Lost Man beyond Recovery: His Heart would not serve him to go thorough with his Resolution; He had several Messages from Bedloe about the Periwig; and that if he did not Own the Periwig, the Three Men would not Dye: He was seldom without an Ammannuensis, or a Dictator rather, in the Chamber with him. And the way was This: He was asked what Papists he knew; where they Liv'd; and what he could say of them; and so the Most was made of Those Minutes, 'till they came to be Emprov'd into Narratives. He is positive, that the Nights he lay abroad in, were within the First Week of October. And he finally Avers, That if it had not been for the Dread of Death, and Misery, that was with so much Restless Importunity Press'd upon him; And the Flattering Promises of the Great Advantage it would be to him, to Persist in his Evidence of the Murder, he verily Believes, he should rather have Dy'd, then have Hazard'd his Damnation by Another Perjury.

And it was not All yet Neither, that the Scum of the Rabble pass'd Muster for Competent Witnesses against Men of Honour, in Matters of State; That the most Abandon'd Miscreants, even of that Scum, were Allow'd to give Evidence as Men of Probity; that Every Thing was Screw'd in favour of the Guilty, and to the Destruction of the Innocent, That the Pris'ners and their Witnesses, were rather brought to the Stake, then to a Tryal, and

and Put, by the Violences of the *Rout* into an *Incapacity*, of *Defending*, either *Themselves* or their *Friends*, &c. This was not All, I say, without making a *False Witness* of the very *Press* too. Is it so upon your *Salvation*? (Says the *Late King* to *Prance*, speaking of the *Evidence* against *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*.) Upon my *Salvation*, (says *Prance*.) It is All *False*: Now This *Passage* was given in *Evidence* by *Mr. Chiffinch* at *Green's Tryal*, and *Left-out* in the *Print*. Did not *Mr. Langhorn*, upon his *Tryal*, Move the *Court*, that some of the *Jury* might be sent to the *Temple* upon a *View* of his *Study*, and *Chamber*? and offer to put his *Life* upon *That Issue*, if they should find it but so much as *Possible* for *Bedloes Oath* to be *True*; in *Swearing*, that out of the *Chamber*, he saw *Langhorn* taking *Duplicates* of *Letters* in his *Study*? Now there's Nothing of This Neither in the *Printed Tryal*. The *Tryal* of *Nat. Thompson*, &c. is *Printed Double*; One by *Simmons*, and the Other by *Mason*. In *Mason's Tryal*, *Fisher* that help'd to *Strip* the *Body*, gives This *Evidence*; We could not *Bend* his *Arms*, when we came to his *Shirt*, So we *Tore* it *Open*, fol. 6. Now This *Stiffness* of his *Arms* would hardly *Agree* with the *Condition* of a *Dead Body* to be put into a *Chair*: So that in *Simmons's Tryal*, fol. 22. they have very *Discreetly* told the *Rest* of the *Story* without *That Circumstance*.

But to come now to a *Conclusion*, as to the *Matter* of *Writing* This *History* No *Sooner*; What should any *Man* put *Pen* to *Paper* for, in an *Age*, when there was *No place*, *No Security* for *Truth*, *No Refuge* for *Innocence*; and *No Protection* for *Common Justice*? The *Noise* of the *People* was *Call'd* the *Voice* of the *People*, and *Popular Tumults* pass'd for the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*; when *Impostors* were *Consulted* as *Oracles*; and when *All sorts* of *Men* were *Practic'd*, and wrought

wrought upon, by *All Sorts of Means*, to *Blind their Understandings*, or to *Corrupt their Morals*: There was *Money for the Covetous*; *Preferment for the Ambitious*; *The Impunity of an Unaccountable License*, for *Malice*, or *Revenge*. In Short, *Cases in Those Days* were Carry'd by *Huzzahs* instead of *Votes*; and *Bear-Garden-Law* was All many an *Honest Man* had to *Trust* to for the *Liberty of the Subject*.

C H A P. XI.

Notes upon Bedloes and Prances Evidence, Compar'd One with Another.

WE are now Enttring upon a Subject to Confound a Man, as well where to *Begin*, as where to *End*; and there's No Accommodating the Matter, but by Covering the *Depositions* on Both Sides with *One Great Plot*.

Here's a *Horrible Out-Cry* of a *Barbarous Murther*; A *Popish Murther*, A *Plot-Murther*; The *Murther* of a *Magistrate*; The *Murther* of a *Protestant Magistrate*; and in fine; The *Murther* of a *Magistrate*, in *Revenge*, for his Endeavouring to *Prevent the Murthering of a King*, the *Burning of his Towns*, and the *Massacring of his People*. Here's the *Scale of the Case*, and who but *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, the *Devotes* upon This Occasion, for the *Saving of their Prince and Country*! The *Noise of This Murther*, and the *Fame of the Discoverers*, has fill'd All *Mouths* and *Places Ecclesiastical*, as well as *Civil*; *Churches*, and *Pulpits* have been *Dedicated to their Honour*: And if *Altars* had not been *Popish*, and if the same *Whimsey* had gone on Still, we might have come in Time, to

a St. Titus, a St. William, a St. Miles : Nay, and a St. Eustace Comins too, *Orate pro nobis* : But for Temporal Preferments however, there was Care taken, that they should not want either Mediations or Effects. We have Spoken Already of the Two Supporters of This Quarter-Part of the Plot, and respectively of their Depositions, apart ; but we are now going to see how they look upon One Another, Together ; And whether 'twas the Spirit of Revelation that Guided the Kings Witnesses, or the Spirit of Delusion that wrought upon the Believers of them : That is to say, upon Those Believers of them, that had the Whole Cause under Their Eye, and Command ; and, *Duly Consider'd* the Proportion of the several Parts, and Coherence of the Intrigue.

It seems a Wonderful Thing, that Bedloe and Prance that were Two of the Main Wheels of This Motion, should hold No Communication at all One with Another. Prance does not so much as Mention Bedloe ; nor Bedloe Prance ; either before the Lords, or upon the Tryals, (Previously, that is, to the Murther) save only Once ; and That by Implication too ; When the very Name of Prance was Thrown into Bedloes Mouth by a Leading Question. Tryal, fol. 33. And it was not the Two Witnesses only that were Strangers to One Another ; but the Principal Agitators Themselves, were Few of them Acquainted. The Instruments, Several, and they took Several Walks too, at the same Time for the doing of the same Bus'ness, and without holding any visible Correspondence : As if Divers Men had Stumbled, or rather Pitch'd by Impulse, upon the same Thoughts without Knowing One Anothers Minds.

Bedloe Swears before the Lords, that he Knows that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd in Somerset-House, on the Saturday, by Walsh, Le Phaire, Two Lay-men ; a Gentleman that Waits on my Lord Bellasis, and

and an Under-waiter in the Queens Chappel. He Swears, that he Knows what afterwards he Delivers, but upon Hear-say. Now Prance tells us upon the Tryal, that He Himself, Green, Berry, Hill, and Gerald, were the Five Murtherers, fol. 18. without so much as One Word of Bedloes Confederates. Prance was Entic'd in (he says) by Gerald and Kelley, fol. 14. But it was Le Phaire, Pritchard, Keines, and several Other Priests that Treated with Bedloe about the Murther, Tryal, fol. 28. And then Upon the Lords Journal, Nov. 12. 1678. He Speaks as if it were only Le Phaire, and Walth, that offer'd him 4000 l. to Help forward with it. But it was Gerald, and Vernatti that spake of a Great Reward to Prance; Tryal, fol. 22. Prance says, that it was He Himself, Green, Hill, Gerald, and Kelley, that put the Body into the Sedan, and Help'd it away out of the House [All set our Hands to't,] he says, Tryal, fo. 19, 20. But Bedloe, before the Lords, say's that Le Phaire, Walth, the Lord Bellassis Gentleman, Atkins, and one that belong'd to the Queens Chappel, were the Persons that were to go with it. The Whole Story, in Fine, is made up of Ill-Contriv'd, and Incredible Disagreements, and Point-Blank-Contradictions. And they are at the same Variance One with the Other in the Walks they took, and in the Conduct, and Manage of the Whole Design.

Bedloe in his Depositions before the Lords, Leads us a Dance to Le Phaire in Grays-Inn-VValks; to Le Phaire again by Accident, in Fleet-street, going into Red-Lyon-Court, and to An Appointment at the Palsgraves-Head-Tavern; Thence to the Cloyster in Somerset-House-Court. He tells us a Story then of Clarendon-House, Lincolns-Inn-Fields, the Greyhound-Tavern, the Kings-Head-Inn in the Strand, &c. Now Prance, on the Other Hand, lays his Scene at Somerset-House VVater-Gate; Talks of the VVicket; The Bench by the Rayles, and the Stables;

Stables; Dr. Godden's Lodgings; A Little Clofet or Square Room; The Grecian Church, and So-ho; And saving that Somerset-House was to be the Place of Action; There's No sort of Intelligence betwixt One Passage and Another. Now when Prance comes to his Evidence upon the Tryals, the Plow-Alehouse strikes a Great Stroke; Red-Lyon-Fields; And then for a Supplement, comes Sir John Arundel's Lodgings, Covent Garden, Long Acre, the Queens-Head at Bow, &c. and not one Word in Bedloe of any of These Jaunts: So that they Squar'd now as Little about the Places, as they did before about the Instruments; Sir Edmund was to be Dogg'd however; And we shall find as much Difference about the Time, the Manner of it, and the Particular Persons that were upon the Heel of him, as about any thing else.

Bedloe before the Lords, says nothing more of Dogging him, then that Le Phaire, Walsh, and my Lord Bellassis's Gentleman met him by the Kings-head in the Strand, Crossing the Street about Five Afternoon; and so by a very Pitiful Wile Trepann'd him into Somerset-House-Court, and there did his Bus'ness. He says indeed upon the Tryals, that he was sent to Insinuate Himself into Sir Edmund's Acquaintance, pag. 29. but still not one Word of This before the Lords. He says further, that he had been Six or Seven Days together with him at his House, upon Pretence of getting VVarrants for the Good Behaviour, against Persons that there were None such: Wherein he must Manifestly forswear Himself, whether he did so, or Not; for Godfrey was not a Man to Grant any such VVarrants, but upon Oath. He says further, That he was with Five Jesuits at the Greyhound Tavern, on the Friday, and sent his Boy to see if Sir Edmund were at Home. Ib.] But not a Syllable of This neither in his other Depositions.: And then to talk of his Boy too; the Boy of a Fellow that was but newly Spew'd out of an Alms-Basket. The whole Re-
mainder

mainder of his Evidence is only the Old Story made worse. But Prance, for all this, I Warrant ye, had him Dogg'd into Red-Lyon-Fields, fol. 15. And Afterward by Girald, Green, and Hill into St. Clements; and so back again to Somerset-House. But a Word or Two now to the Desperate Provocation to This Bloody Revenge.

Bedloe says before the Lords, that he was to be put out of the way, because of some Examinations that he had taken tending to the Discovery of the Popish Design, Nov. 12. 1678. But Prance before the Lords, swears it was out of Malice for being Cross-grain'd to the Queen and her Servants. Bedloe makes no more on't upon the Tryal, then that there was a very Material Man to be taken out of the way; One that had All the Enformations that Mr. Otes and Dr. Tong had given in; and if the Papers were not taken from him, the Bus'ness would be Obstructed, and go near to be Discover'd, p. 30. But Bedloe was still for giving him Quarter before the Lords; and for doing it by Fair Means or by Foul, according as he should Behave Himself. But Not a Word of That Neither, upon the Tryals: Beside that in the Lords Journal, he was stifled betwixt Two Pillows: And in the Tryal, they had Strangled him, he says, but he knew not how, p. 32. And in one Word, Bedloe, and Prance, did both agree at the Court of Kings Bench to Destroy him Out-right, without offering any Terms, or Conditions, for the saving of his Life; contrary to what Bedloe swore before the Lords.

The Two Witnesses were as much Divided too, about the Place where he was Murther'd, and the Manner of the Execution; but they Both Agreed that he was Murther'd at Somerset-House. Prance will have the Deed to be done upon the Descent by the Stables; and that he was Wheedled down under the Pretence of Parting a Fray, Tryal,

Tryal, fol. 16. Bedloe gets him thither under Colour of Catching some of the Plotters. Lords Journal. Prance makes Green to follow him with a Twisted Handkercher, and to get him down by Surprize, fol. 16, 17. Bedloe, in the Journal makes it to be done Fairly, with Presenting a Pistol, and upon Articles of Mercy; though No body could ever find out Bedloe's, and Prance's Place, where the Body was Convey'd, any more then Otes's Stair-Cafe that led to her Majesties Whispering Room: And it is to be noted also, that This was no Hear-say-Evidence, upon the Final Resolution of the Case; for Bedloe saw the Body by Le Phaire's Dark Lanthorn; and Prance saw it by Hill's Dark Lanthorn, at the same Time and Place; and yet they had no Light there, but one Dark Lanthorn, Tryal, fol. 31. Nay, and Bedloe saw it by Prance's Dark Lanthorn, or he was Damnablely Forsworn, when Prance was brought from the Lobby to the Eating-House. There were, in fine, Two Sir Edmund's Murder'd, One in the House, T'other in the Yard; and Bedloe's was Carry'd off on Munday at Night, at Nine of the Clock, Journal, Nov. 8. 1678. Prance's, not 'till Wednesday about Twelve of the Clock, Tryal, p. 19. This Passage starts a Hint worth the taking Notice of: Bedloe has the Body Carry'd away on the Monday Night upon the Lords Journal: But Prance upon the Tryal, mistook his Nones, and says it was only remov'd into Somerset-House. Tryal, pag. 18. And so they concerted the Bus'ness of the Dark Lanthorn too; only they were not agreed upon the Bearer of it, as is already set forth; so that Le Phaire was Bedloe's Lanthorn's Bearer, and Hill was Prance's.

Here's een enough in Conscience said Already upon the Particularities of This Subject, to make all Thinking Men of the Next Age, Blush at the Corruptions and Credulity of This: But whoever considers the Circumstances of the Men that Gave This Evidence, will no

longer Trouble his Head with *Wondering* at the *Evidence* that was *Deliver'd*. And I shall give the Reader a *Tast* upon *This Topique*, in the *Following Chapter*.

C H A P. XII.

Some General Touches upon the Character of Bedloe and Prance, and their Credit in Other Cases as well as This, Not forgetting Titus Otes.

IT was under the *Triumvirate* of *Otes*, *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, that the *Tragedy* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was brought upon the Stage; and something ought to be said, *Methinks*, of the *Persons*, as well as the *Actions* of *These Three Heroes*; if a *Man* could but hit upon the *Just Medium*, betwixt too *Much*, and too *Little*.

Titus Otes was the *Son* of *Samuel Otes*; A *Gifted* and a *Dipping Weaver*: And he *Dipt fair* too; He was *Arraign'd* at *Chelmsford Assizes*, p. 146. for the *Murder* of One *Anne Martin*, that *Dy'd* some *Fourteen Days* after the *Dipping*, and layd her *Death* to his *Charge*. *Gangrena*, part 3. p. 105. There's a story *Pleasant* enough, and *Every Body* has it, of a *Woman* that he had Under the *Ord'nance* of *Dipping*, that still fell to *Squalling*, and *Screaming* so soon as ever they had her *above Water*, [*Down with her again* (cries *Otes*) *'Tis her Concupiscence*:] Now the *Matter in Truth* was *This*, The *Roguy Boys* had sunk a *Huge Bundle* of *Brambles*, and *Thorns* in the *Dipping-Place*, and the *Poor Womans Body*, it seems, did not like *That way of Discipline*.

As to *Titus*, it was a *Long Time* before he had so much as the *Badge* of *Christianity*, and there he stopt

too, without ever Advancing one step further into the Practice of it. He never Liv'd any where after *Fourteen*, but when ever he quitted the Place, he left the Character of an *Infamous Creature* behind him: As at *Cains College* in *Cambridge*; *Hastings*; *Bobbing*, *Valladolid*, *St. Omers*, *White-Hall*, the *Kings Courts of Records*; and finally at *Sea*, Under *Sir Richard Ruth*, as well as at *Land*. He Began with *Perjury* and *Sodomy*; so soon as ever he came to be qualify'd, either by the *Law* for a *Competent Evidence*, or by the *state of Virility* for the *Other Execrable Villany*. His *False Oaths*, and his Attempts of that sort of *Brutality*, are so *Many*, that they are scarce to be *Number'd*; and so *Notorious*, that there's No Need of Holding a *Candle* to them; for they are as *Publique* as the *Solemnity of Attestations*, *Tryals*, *Verdicts*, and *Judicial Sentences* can *Make* any thing. In One Word; His *Narrative* Consists of 81. *Articles*; and I dare be Answerable for Four times as many *Falsities* in 'em; To say Nothing of *Driblets*, *By-Blomes* and *Loose Grains*, Over and Above.

Bedloe indeed was the *Merryer*, though perhaps not the *Greater Rogue* of the *Two*; but the fittest Man Yet in Nature to stand *Second* to such a *Principal*. His True Name (after That of his Reputed Father) was *Beddoe*, a Word that according to the *Septuagint*, Imports [*Little*] or [*Diminutive*.] The *Fiddlers*, and the *Coblers* were at as much strife as Ever the *Cities* were for *Homer*, whose *Bedloe* he should be; for he had a smattering in Both *Faculties*. The One he Learn'd from his Mothers First Husband that Ply'd at *May-Poles*, *Wakes*, and *Fairs*; and then she had afterwards Another that Dealt in *Clouting*, *Capping*, and *Underlaying*; but in short, the Poor Woman, they say, took a Great Deal of Pains to Mend the Strain. His First Commission was to run on Errands, at *Hap-Hazard*, for him that came Next; and from Thence, he stept into a *Livery*, and serv'd

serv'd the King, and the Protestant Religion in the quality of a Foot-boy. This was his Rise, to the Knowledge of Men, and Bus'ness. He got the Names, and Habitations of Men of Quality, their Relations, Correspondents and Interest: and upon This Bottom it was, with a Convenient stock of Impudence, and a Dextrous Turn of Fancy and Address, that he put himself into the World. There was No sort of Cheat, that he was not In at, and Good at. But his Master-Piece was his Personating Men of Quality; Getting Credit for Watches, Coats, Horses, Borrowing Money upon Recommendations; Bilking of Vintners, and Tradesmen; Lying, Pilfering, and Romancing, to the Degree of Impoling almost upon any man that had any spark in him of Humanity, or Good Nature. His Character, and his History, in fine, Truly drawn, would have Sixteen Guzmans in the Belly of it: But there Needs no more then Common Fame, upon the Tracing of his Motions, to the Instructing of that Story. He pass'd thorough All the Degrees of Knavery, and Wickedness, as Gradually, and Insensibly, as he did through the Moments, and the Inches of his Age, and Stature; He Liv'd like a Wild Arabs, upon the Prey, and the Ramble; and where ever he was in Flanders, France, Spain, or England, he never fail'd of leaving the Footsteps, and the Reputation of a Prostitute Cheat behind him: He was hardly ever at Home, but in a Prison; Nor in his Element, as they say, any Longer then he was in the King's Highway to't. That is to say; he was still a doing somewhat or Other, Contrary to Law, Honesty and Good Manners.

This, upon the Whole Matter, was but a Congruous Preparatory to the Consummated state of a Flagitious Miscreant; when he came Afterward to Joya Issue in a Perjurious, and Murderous Cause, with Otes, Prance, and Others, as a King's-Evidence. The Pompous sound of [a King's Evidence;] And the Terrible Chymera of a Plot upon

upon his Majesties *Life*, and the *Protestant Religion*, *Dazled*, and *Blinded* the *People*, as if the *Sun* had been thrown in their *Eyes* from a *Looking-Glass*: Infomuch that in *Two as Lewd Lives as ever were led Under the Canopy of Heaven*, in the *Persons* of *Otes* and *Bedloe*, and the *Character* of *These Two Wretches as Well known*, as the *Whipping-Post*, they could not find in their *Conscience* Yet, to make any *Exception* to the *Probity* of *These Witnesses*. Nay, and they were not only *Believ'd*, but, if not *Temples*, *Pulpits*, at least, *Dedicated* to their *Honour*, and by a *Blasphemous Figure*, They were *Recommended* to the *Mobile*, as the *Saviours* of the *Nation*, though the *Left-Hand Thief* upon the *Cross*, Might, to All *Humane Appearance*, have made as *Good an Evidence*. VVell! And there's more in't Yet too; for *Bedloe* was much *Better* at a *Sham*, *Off-Hand*, then at a *Conspiracy*, by *Book*. Take them *singly*, and they give *Themselves* the *Lye*; Take them *Respectively*, and they give *One Another* the *Lye*; And Yet after all, When they neither *Believ'd Themselves*, nor *One Another*, there were found so many *Believers* of them, that *Great Britain* was within *One Gust more*, of *sinking*, under the *Malice* and *Folly* of the *one side*, and of the *other*; beyond All *Possibility* of *Redemption* without the relief of a *Miracle*.

That *Bedloe* and *Otes* were *Forsworn* in the *Bus'ness* of *Godfrey*, no less then in *That* of the *Plot*, (and *Prance* for *Company*) is no more to be *Doubted*, then the most *Certain Evidence* we have of *Any One Instance* of *Fact* in *These Times*; And This being most *Undeniably Clear*, it is not so much *My Part*, or in *Truth*, *My Bus'ness*, to shew where *Bedloe* was *forsworn* in any *other Cases*; as to *Defie* any *Man* to *Produce any one Oath* he made, in favour of the *Credit* of *That Plot*, wherein he was *Not Forsworn*; for to *Name some*, and *Not All*, would be a *Tacit Scandal* upon the *Rest*.

In the Course of My Design, *Prances* Place should be now Immediately Next ; but as there is an Order even among the *Devils in Hell*, the same *Decorum* ought to be Observ'd toward his *Instruments* here upon *Earth*; So that I shall Post-Pone *Prance* a Little, as a Poor, Sneaking, off-and-on-Wretch, that's scarce Worthy to be Nam'd on the same Day with the Other Two. Now if a Man Might Honestly Laugh upon so Tragical, and so Reprobated an occasion, VVho could forbear, at the seeing of a Thousand Fooleries less Credible then the Fables of the Poets, Warranted for Gospel: *Ovid* has not in All his Tales a more Incredible Metamorphosis, then This of *Otes*, and *Bedloe*. Religious Brutes; State Fools; Devils Incarnate, turn'd all of a sudden, Bigots; Beggerly Varlets, with Neither Faith nor Brains, all in the turning of a Hand, become Mony'd Men, and the Confidants of Princes. Nay, and Not Only to Continue False, and Scandalous, but to Grow Wickedder After their Conversion then they were Before. And for That Monster *Otes*, to go on Buggering, and Yet at the same Time Celebrated in Despite of Common Sense, and Shame, as a Vessel of the Holy Ghost. But not to spread the Matter too Thin, I shall Entertain the Reader here with Two Bills of Monyes laid out in his Majesties Service; The One by *Otes*, at a Time when he was not VVorth a Brumigem-Groat to Spunge for a Dish of Coffee: The Other, by *Bedloe*, out of his Savings, when he liv'd a Little before in the *Marshalls* upon the Charity of the *Alms-Basket*.

Otes's Bill of Expences, Feb. 11. 1678.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
I mprimis, My Journey into Spain, besides the Ten Pounds given me ————	15	00	00
Item, My Manuscript of the <i>Alexandrian</i> Version of the <i>Septuagint</i> , which I gave them ————	50	00	00
Item, For a Journey to <i>Madrid</i> more then was allowed me ————	05	00	00
Item, For a Journey to <i>Villa Garcia</i> more then was allowed me ————	01	00	00
Item, For a Journey to <i>Salamanca</i> more then was allowed me ————	04	00	00
Item, for my Expence to <i>Madrid</i> in a Second Journey more then was Allowed me ————	10	10	00
Item, For my Expences in Intelligence from <i>Sevill</i> and other parts in <i>Spain</i> , more then was known ————	12	00	00
Item, For a Present of <i>Tweezers</i> , and a Case of <i>Knives</i> to <i>Father Sweetman</i> at <i>Madrid</i> , and 2 Cases of <i>Spectacles</i> ————	02	10	00
Item, For a <i>Watch</i> to present to the <i>Archbishop</i> of <i>Tuam</i> when at <i>Madrid</i> ————	08	10	00
Item, For a Case of <i>Knives</i> to the Rector of the <i>English</i> College at <i>Valladolid</i> ————	01	00	00
More for a Dozen of <i>Gloves</i> to be presented to him ————	01	10	00
Item, For my Expences home to <i>England</i> more then was allow'd me ————	12	10	00
Item, For my Expences for the Time I was in <i>London</i> more then was allowed me ————	02	00	00

Item,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences from <i>London</i> to St. <i>Omers</i> more then was allowed me	04	00	00
<i>Item</i> For Gloves and Knives to present to the Rector of St. <i>Omers</i>	02	10	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Journey to <i>Paris</i> more then was allowed me	03	10	06
<i>Item</i> , For my Journey to <i>Ghent</i> more then was allowed me	05	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences in St. <i>Omers</i>	08	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences in my Journey to, and in doing Bus'ness in <i>England</i> , in APRIL more then was allow'd me	10	00	00
And for my Journey Back again	03	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences home to <i>England</i> in <i>June</i> , more then was allow'd me	07	04	00
<i>Item</i> , For my Expences from the 17th. <i>June</i> , to the 14th of <i>August</i> last	50	00	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 14th of <i>August</i> to the 8th of <i>September</i>	70	10	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 8th of <i>September</i> , to the 28th of <i>September</i>	46	10	00
<i>Item</i> , From the 28th of <i>September</i> , to the 21th of <i>October</i>	38	18	00
For Cloths	10	10	00
For Linnen	02	00	00
<i>Item</i> , For Expences from <i>October</i> 21. to <i>December</i> 29.	90	00	00
<i>Item</i> , From <i>December</i> 29. to <i>February</i> 8.	40	08	00
For Necessaries for Winter	20	10	00
For Books which the Jesuits had of me	40	00	00
Money owed to me by the Jesuits	80	00	00
For my Council	20	00	00
For Witnesses	00	12	00
	678	12	06

To say Nothing of his *Alexandrian Version*, his [Intelligence more then was known.] His Accounts with the *Jesuits*; and the other Fopperies that he has Farc'd up his Bill withall. It is very Remarkable, how close he Sticks to his 24th of April, and the Bus'ness of the Consult; for he is very Particular in the Expences of his April-Journey into England; and his Journey back again, and so afterward, for his Journey into England again in June, which keeps touch with his Evidence upon the Tryals, though never any thing was more Clearly prov'd Then his Perjury upon That Point: and that from his going to St. Omers the December before, he never set Foot in England again, till toward the Latter end of June. And now follows a Conscionable Bill of Bedloes too.

Bedloe's Account of Expences, February 15. 1678.

An Account of several Expences made by William Bedloe, on Occasion of the Service of his Majesty, and the Kingdom, which as to the Gross Sums he is ready to attest upon Oath, and does most humbly Crave Allowance for the same, that he may repay his poor Friends what he hath Borrowed from them for this publick Service; and which, notwithstanding 90 l. Received from his Majesties Bounty, doth still remain in Arrear, being 123 l. according to the Particulars Following.

N	ovemb. 5. Borrowed to bring me	}	20—00—30
	up from Bristol —————		
Laid out since I came to London in	}	43—00—00	
Coach-hire, Water-men and Links ———			

For

For several Necessaries in and about my Chamber _____	} 09—00—00
For several Dinners for my self, and other Witnesses on the Tryal _____	} 16—00—00
For fetching out of Kent one Mr. Codd and his Maid, who are Material Wit- nesses upon the Tryal of the Lords _____	} 10—00—00
For sending for several Witnesses out of the Country, and keeping them in Town, till the King is pleas'd to order their Tryals _____	} 50—00—00
For several Meetings and Dinners for the Witnesses that brought in, and Testify'd against Prance - - _____	} 15—00—00
For several Occasions laying out Mony in Searching Suspected Houses for Priests, and Papers, and other suspect- ed Persons _____	} 20—00—00
Mony laid out to have the Advice of an honest Councillor, in many great and weighty Matters, and for a Clerk to write, and put in Order my Papers, with many other Necessary & Unavoid- able Occasions, which I could not omit _____	} 30—00—00
	213—00—00

Here are *Two Accounts* now that might pass betwixt Father and Son, and, in my Conscience, their *Bills* are as true as their *Narratives*: So much *Sworn* to a *Syllable*, and so much *Spent* to a *Penny*. Ores sets down in *Debts, Books, and Presents* to the *Jesuits*, 186 l. And *Bedloe* Reckons 91 l. for *Witnesses*. But People will be apt to Cry out now, *What's All this to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Murder?* Why Truly, if there were no more in't then a bare *Curiosity*, the very *Memorial* would

would be worth the *Ink* and *Paper* that's bestowed upon't. Beside that in This Place it falls in most Naturally with my *Purpose*, and *Text* : First, as it is *Another Branch of Roguery* apart from the *Plot*, and shews them to be *Pick-pockets* as well as *Knights of the Post* ; which may serve to Illustrate what *Credit* is to be given them in *Other Cases*. 2ly. It gives any Man to understand, that at a Time when *such Fellows*, and such *Nonsensical Impostures* could keep a *Government* in *Awe*, it was not for any *Private Man*, with a *Single Voice*, and *Reason*, to oppose an *Epidemical Madness* ; for the *Reck'ning* carry'd *Fraud*, and *Insolence* in the *Face* on't, and the *Witnesses* knew *before-hand*, that it would be no more *Believ'd* by *Others*, then *They Believ'd* it *Themselves*. But they *Push'd* on the *Affront* never the *Less* ; and though I never heard of a *Tally* struck upon that Account, it was yet a kind of *Victory* to come off *Gratis*.

But Thirdly ; The *Timing* of it was the Great Point of All ; for the whole Nation was then at *Gaze* upon the *Tryals* of the *Pretended Murthers* of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and most People were of Opinion, that the *Suppos'd Popish Plot* was to *Stand* or *Fall*, upon *That Issue* : But for my own Part, I was never of that *Per-suasion* : If the *Verdict* went against the *Pris'ners*, it was Reasonable Enough to expect that it would make a *Horrible Noise* ; Especially considering the *Pompous Solemnities* that had *Prepar'd* Men Already, for *Wild* and *Dangerous Impressions*. And then on the other hand, if they had been *Acquitted*, it was but *Arraigning* the *Bench*, the *Jury*, and the *Witnesses*, as they did in other Cases Afterwards to make All whole again. This does not *Hinder*, but that *Otes* and *Bedloe* did very Prudently strike while the *Iron* was hot ; for the *Tryal* bears Date the 10th. of *February*, 167². the *Day* of the *Conviction* of the *Three Pris'ners*. And these *Two Blades* put in their *Bills*, the very same *Week* with the *Tryals* ; Otes on

on the 11th. and Bedloe his on the 15th. And if ever such a Reck'ning was to pass Muster, That Nicking Minute was the Time for't.

As to *Prance's* Character, All that I shall say of it is This ; that he had a good Will to be *Honest*, but not the Heart to go thorough with it ; and that he took more Care of his Carcase at First, then he did afterward of his Conscience. I shall do him This Common right yet, to say, that he had not the Brand upon him of an infamous Course of Life, to Blast his Evidence as his Fellow-Witnesses had : And This may serve, in some sort, to Colour the Easiness of Those that gave Credit to him. In one Word more, If the Murder and the Plot were the only Two Points in Dispute, upon the Credit of his Testimony, his Justice and Faith in other Cases, might Induce a Charitable Softness toward the Believing of him in This : But from his Swearing False in Every Thing Else, (as That's the Case) to Infer that in One Single Point, or Two, he swears True, would be a very Perverse way of Reasoning. To shorten the Business now, I have a Letter of *Prance's* upon This Subject, and I cannot better Dispose of it then in This Place ; And there can hardly be a Better Testimony, then that of an Ill Man, who, without either Hope, or Fear of being the Better or the Worse for't, bears Witness against Himself.

SIR,

HEaring that you are about to Publish something concerning the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, I think it my Duty to take Shame upon me, and to make a Publique Declaration to the World of my Confession and Repentance of the Heinous Sins that I have committed against God, and my Offences against his Sacred Majesty, my most Gracious Mi-

Mistress the Queen Dowager, the Noblemen, Gentry, and All others that I have wickedly and wrongfully Accus'd about the Death of That Gentleman. I cannot hope or expect that any thing I say should find Credit in the World; but it will be some Ease to my Conscience, if I may obtain the favour of a Place for this Declaration any where among your Papers, if you shall commit any upon This Subject to the Press.

From the time of taking off my Irons, and changing my Lodging, which was upon my Yielding Basely to Forswear my self against those Innocent Persons, Green, Berry, and Hill, that Dy'd upon my Wicked Evidence: Mr. Boyce was the Man that Acted for me, and writ many Things which I Copy'd after him; I found by his Discourse that he had been several Times with my Lord Shaftsbury, and with Bedloe; and he told me, that I would be certainly Hang'd, if I did not agree with Bedloe's Evidence, and own the Periwig, the Men would not be Hang'd; I would not yield to't, so he yielded to mine, and the Periwig was spoke no more on; and bidding me consider what a Condition I should be in, if any of them should confess first. He got me out of Newgate some few Days after the Tryal of Green, &c. But before any of them were Executed, Mr. Boyce told me how much some of Sir Edmund's Relations were troubled that I was out so soon, for fear I should deny all again; and so Mr. Boyce took me to his own House, and watched me, and went with me wheresoever I went, till the Innocent

cent men were Executed. I would fain have had Berry sav'd, but Mr. Boyce said he was Guilty of the Murther, and could not be sav'd; and that if the King had a mind to pardon him, he might do it without my Troubling my self.

It was purely the fear of Death, and the Misery of my Condition, that wrought upon me to Forswear my self, without any thought of reward; although I was told several Times that Great Things would be done for me. My Lord Shaftsbury told me my Trade should be Better then ever it was, and bought some Plate of me Himself, part whereof was for Otes. This brings to my Mind that in the Time while I Deny'd the Murther, or any Knowledge of it, I was taken out of Newgate, and carry'd to Two Eminent Lawyers, where I was Upbraided for departing from my Evidence; One of them, wondring much what should make me do it, and speaking to me to this Effect, [You were affraid, perhaps, of Losing your Trade, that lay mostly among the Papists; or else perchance you did not think your self sure of your Pardon, &c.] which Words were spoken in such a way, that I took them for Hints to me what Excuse I might make upon going off again, and as I am a Christian, This was it that first put That Excuse into my Head. My Lord Shaftsbury gave me Two Guinea's once, to help off a Man that I had Sworn against for Dangerous Words against the King. I received Thirty Pounds by his Majesties Order, and Five Pounds of Bedloe.

As to those I swore against about the Plot; If I may take the Names as they lye in the Narrative: I Accus'd one of the Townleys of Townley in Lancashire, with saying, [That when his Brothers, who were then at Doway, came back from Flanders, they expected to receive Commissions from the Lord Bellassus, and other Catholick Lords concern'd for the raising of Men to carry on the Catholique Cause; and that I had heard Adamson a Watch-maker several Times speak of this at the Club in Veer-street. I do declare in the Presence of God Almighty, that the Accusation is false in every Point of it, both concerning Mr. Townley and Mr. Adamson. See Narrative, fol. 3. I do declare likewise, That I was no otherwise put upon it, then by a Paper that was brought to me in the Condemn'd Hole, and by the Menaces of Hanging me, if I did not confess more and more, saying, Hang him Rogue, He thinks This shall save him.

I Accus'd Mr. Keightly also, when the Earl of Shaftsbury, &c. was in the Tower, with Rejoicing at their Imprisonment, and the Differences amongst the Lords; and if the Duke of York did but follow the Business close, they doubted not but the Catholique Religion would be quickly settled, fol. 3. I declare with the same Sol emnity as aforesaid, I never knew nor heard that Mr. Keightly said any such Words. This Accusation was drawn up by Mr. B. from General Heads that I gave him, and one drew up the Narrative, wherein they both went further then I directed. They did as the

rest did ; If I spoke a Word, they made Ten out.

I accus'd Mr. Singleton a Priest, for saying, He hoped to be settled in a Parish Church within a Twelvemonth ; and that he would make no more to stab Forty Parliament-men, then he would do to eat his Dinner, fol. 4. which Accusation I do declare to be utterly false, and of my own Framing.

And so likewise was that of Mr. Ridley's saying, that He hoped to be Surgeon to the Catholique Army in England, and that he hoped to have the Lord Bellasis to Friend. Ibid.

My Accusation of Mr. Paston for saying, That the King was a great Heretick ; but the Lord Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres would have a gallant Army for Deposing the King ; and that they had already given out Commissions to divers Gentlemen, as Sir Henry Beddingfield, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Stoner, as was suggested to me by my first Paper of Instructions, but made much more in drawing up the Enformation and Narrative.

My Charge, fol. 5. against Ireland, for saying in the Presence of Fenwick and Grove, That there would be shortly Fifty Thousand Men in Arms, and Fenwick saying thereupon, That they should be commanded by the Lords, Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Others, is False in every part of it, and so is the following Article of Grove's saying, That the Lords, Bellasis, Arundel, Powis, and Petres was to Command this intended Army, and had Commissions for that Purpose. I took Hints toward these Accusations from my first Paper of

of Instructions, and they that drew up the Enforcements made the rest.

I did falsely Accuse Le Phaire also, for a Discourse about the Catholiques Providing Weapons, fol. 6. and likewise Mr. Moor. Ibid. for speaking of Ten Thousand Horse to be shortly rais'd for the Catholique Cause. It was all false, likewise, and of my own Contrivance.

My Charge against Mr. Messenger, *ibid.* for Boasting, that the Heretiques would e're long be rooted out, was false, and my own too.

And in like manner that of Lawrence's speaking These Words, I wish with all my Heart that half the Parliament were poyson'd, for they will ruine us all; which is utterly False, and out of my own Head; and so was my Accusation of my Lord Arundel's Butler, for saying, That Mr. Messenger was to have a vast Reward to kill the King, fol. 7.

And so was my Charge likewise upon Mr. Grove a Schoolmaster, For being privy to the Levy of Fifty Thousand Men, which were suddenly to be Raised, fol. 8.

I shall now speak to the Pretended Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; wherein I Charg'd Gerald, Kelley, Green, Berry, Hill, Lewson, and Vernatti, to be either Actors or Confederates. I do declare for my part I know nothing of such a Confederacy; neither do I believe there was any such, but that the whole Pretence of the Murther, as

well for the Persons, as for the Place, was all False.

The Particulars above Written are All True, as I hope for Salvation : And Begging your Worships Pardon for This Presumption, I Rest

Your most Humble and

Princes-street,
Jan. 17. 1677.

Obedient Servant.

Miles Prance.

C H A P. XIII.

The Relation of Godfrey's Murther, as it stands in the Narratives and Tryals, is one of the most Unlikely Stories to be True, that ever was made Publique, and Believed.

THe Body was found in the Ditch; Cary'd Thence to the White House; And so they Proceeded upon it to a View, and to a Verdict: This was, in few Words, the Ground-Work of the History: They began, Effectually at the Wrong End, and, by an Inverted Way of Reasoning, instead of Drawing Conclusions from Premises; Their Bus'ness was Subsequently to Frame and Accomodate Premises, to a Fore-laid Conclusion. This Unhappy Gentleman, was, in Truth, Miserably Haunted with an Hereditary and a Fore-boding Melancholy; and it was the Manage of that Season to Improve Every Fit of the Spleen, into a Popish Dagger at the Heart of him: In-somuch, that he was said to be Murther'd by the Papists, (as in Due Time and Place shall be made appear)

even

even while he was yet *Alive* : Nay, betwixt the *Saturday* when he went *away*, and the *Thursday Night Following*, when he was *found*, it was in *Every Bodies Mouth*, that *the Papists had Kill'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. The Resolution being already taken, to make a *Popish Murther* on't, and so to make a *Popish Conspiracy* the Root of This *Popish Murther*. Never was any thing more *Ridiculously Order'd*, from *One End* of the Series to the *Other*. First, for the *Place in General*, it was the *Queens Palace*; and then in *Particular*, where the *Execution* was done. *Prance's* Evidence says it was by the *Stables*; *Bedloe* swears it was by *Shoving him out of the Upper Court*. But whether the *One way*, or the *Other*, it was in a *Quarter so Publique*, that what with the *Guards*, The *Concourse of People*; The *Grooms, Watermen, Passengers*; The *Lights* and the *Windows* thereabouts, there might any *Busle* have been seen, or heard, from *Forty several Places*; and upon the *Least Out-cry*, either at the *One Place*, or the *Other*, *Sir Edmund* had *Infallibly been Rescu'd*, and the *Assassin* taken. Beside that it was now but *between Five and Six*, by *Bedloe's Account*, and *Nine a Clock* at most, by *Prance's*; a Time when *People* were every where *up*, and *stirring*, and the *Porters Window* over the *Water-Gate* look'd directly All this While, upon the *Place* where the *Fact* was said to be *Committed*.

And then the *Dogging* of him at the *Rate*, and *Manner*, that they sayd they did; was a *Notable Fetch* of a *Project* too. They had been upon the *Heel* of him, as *Prance* says, a *Matter of a Week or a Fort-night* before he was *Murther'd*, *Tryal, pa. 15*. But at last, by the *Consent* of the *Witnesses* he was fairly *Hunted* to *Somerset-house*, from *Below-stræt*, says *One*, and from *Above*, says the *Other*; And they brought him in at *Two Several Gates*, And at *Two Several Hours*; The *One*, at *Five*, and the *Other* at *Nine*: and *strangled*

him as soon as they had him in, *Two Several Ways*, and in *Two Several Places*. Now the *Contradictions* apart, Nothing could be More *Senseless* then the very *Proposition*. For *First*, they might have found a *Thousand* better *Ways* and *Opportunities* for the doing of his *Business*. The Device of getting him into the *Toyle*, was *Silly* to the *Last Degree* too; under the Pretence of Parting a *Quarrel*; in a place where having *No Authority* to *Meddle*, he knew better Things then to *Lash out* in so *Fickle a Point*. And was it not Another *Notable Piece of Invention*, to Hound him up and down, (as the *VVitnesses* swear they did) either *Bedloe's way*, with a *Crevat*, or with a *Hand-kercher*, which *Bedloe* and *Prance* had seen before, (they say) as *Predesign'd* for the *Execution*? Now Methinks the *Point of a Sword*, or a *Ponyard* in his *Guts*, or a *Convenient Brace of Bullets* in the *Head* of him, might have made every jot as sure *VVork*, as either the *Handkercher* or the *Crevat*. Or if That *Must Needs* be the way still, they were Mightily overseen again in the *Choice of the Instrument*; for *Green* was a *Little Old Fellow*, and *Godfrey*, a *Tall, Strong Man*; Now the *Handkercher*, was to be *Thrown Over his Head, Hat, and All*, I suppose, Unless they Expected he should *Doff it Himself*, and put his own *Neck* into the *Noose*. So that the *Life of Every Mothers Child* of them was at stake too upon That *Adventure*; either if *Green* had *Miss'd* his *Cast*, or else had not put him out of *Condition of Defence*, Upon the *First Tugg*: But Now they have him down, What's to be done with the *Body*? is the *Next Question*. The Story is too long, and too silly, to bear the Drawing out of the *Train* at *Length*; but it is Impossible for any Man to *Trace the Passages*, and to *Believe the Evidence*, without turning *Somerset-House* into an *Enchanted Castle*; and Casting a *Mist* before the *Eyes of Forty People*, to render Both the *Body*, and the *Bea-*

vers Invisible: And so, Effectually, it was to *All the World* but *Bedloe*, and *Prance*; who swore they saw the *Body* lying at the *same Time*, in *Two Several Places*; Though *No Creature* could give *Any Tidings* of it *Beside*. Nor could *They Themselves* ever find, or *Direct* the way to *Those Places* again. The *Body*, in fine, (while it lay there) was forc'd, upon *Several Occasions* to shift for it self; and upon *every Fright*, though but at the *Wagging* of a *Feather*, *Whipt away* out of *One Room* into *Another*, with as much *Ease* as a *Cat* would *Carry-off* a *Mouſe*. It was kept, from *Saturday*, till *Sunday Night*, (or *Prance* is *Forſworn*) in the *Chamber* of *Lawrence Hill*, in *Dr. Godden's Lodgings*: And now, to say *Nothing* of the *Incomprehenſible Way*, and *Manner* of getting the *Body Thither*, let any *Man* read but *Theſe Following Depoſitions*, and then *Conſider*, what a *Place* they had found out for the *Concealment* of ſuch a *Villany*.

Elizabeth Hill Depoſeth, that *She this Enformant lay* that *Saturday Night* that *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was *Fiſt Miſſing*, and the *Sunday* and *Monday* following, and *ſeveral Nights* before and *After* in the very *Room* where *Prance* *Relates* the *Dead Body* of the ſaid *Sir Edmund* to have been laid: And that *This Enformant* was in that very *Room* before mentioned, the *Greateſt Part* of the *Sunday* and *Monday* next after the *Saturday* before ſpo-
ken of.

And *This Enformant* being *Interrogated*, if there were not ſome *Hiding Places* in or about *That Room*, where the *body* might be *Conceal'd*, *Maketh Answer*, that the *Room* was ſo little, that it would very hardly hold *Neceſſaries* for the *Chamber*, *There* being but *One Little Bed* in the *Room*, and the *Place* *Crouded* with *Boxes* and *Trunks* under the *Bed*, ſo that it was *Impoſſible* for ſuch a *Body* to lye in that *Room* any where *Undiſcover'd*: the *Door* of

the Room being Constantly also with the Key in't, and that Chamber the Common Place for Pen, Ink and Paper, for the Service of the Family: This Enformant also lying there with her Husband and a Child. And that During the Time Abovesaid there was No Dead Body in the said Room, to This Enformants Certain Knowledge.

This Enformant saith further, that upon the Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing, This Enformants Husband being at Cards at the House of Mr. Thomas Cutler, She This Enformant went at about Eight That Evening to fetch her Husband Home, and they went home together Accordingly, This Enformants Husband not going out again That Night.

Elizabeth Hill.

Ann Broadstreet Deposeth, that She this Enformant knew Laurence Hill, a Servant of Dr. Goddens, very well; and that for several Tears together, This Enformant Living in the House of the said Dr. Godden, Never knew him to be one Night Missing out of the House: And saith Particularly, that at the time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing; (being Saturday the 12th. of October) Until the Middle of the Next Week after, Mr. Hill, and his Wife, and his Child, lodged in the very Room, where Prance Affirmed the Dead Body to have been laid. And that the said Room was not Capable of Receiving a Dead Body, beside the Boxes and Trunks that were there before. The Room being found upon Measure to be but Six Foot and Three Inches, Broad; and Nine Foot, wanting Two Inches, Long; there being in it a Bed, a Cupboard-Table, Two or Three Trunks, and several Boxes, under the Bed, and a Little Stool to sit upon.

Ann Broadstreet.

Reside

Beside the Evidence given upon the Tryal, by Mrs. Mary Tylden, that the Footmen, upon Occasion, were fain to wait in Hill's Chamber, and that she went every Day into That Room for Something or Other; and that Particularly, on the Sunday, when Sir Edmund was missing, she was in it, and saw No Dead Body there, Tryal, p. 55. 58.

Catharine Lee Testifies, That Room of Hills, to have been a Common Place for Footmen; and that she went into it every Morning, and there was No Dead Body there, p. 58.

James Warrier swears, that upon Saturday, the 12th. of October, 1678. coming to his House in the Strand, about Seven a Clock in the Evening he found Robert Green (one of the Pretended Murtherers) sitting by the Fire with his Wife; and that after that time they did not Part Company till a pretty while After Ten a Clock: And this Warrier's Wife gives Evidence to the very same Effect, which I shall have Occasion to Recite at large in another Place.

Thomas Cutler also Swears, That upon the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away from his House, Lawrence Hill, a Servant to Dr. Godden, came to the House of this same Cutler about Four in the Afternoon, and there finding some Company, they went to Whisk, there being one Mr. Robert Belt, Mr. John Moor, Cutler Himself, and others in the Company; and that the said Mr. Hill did not stir from Cutler's House till about Eight of the Clock, when Hill's Wife went to fetch him Home.

Now this has quite spoil'd the Fashion of Prance's Story of Green and Hill's Dogging of Godfrey from Place to Place, at These very Hours: But a Man can hardly set one Single Step in This Proceeding,

ing, without a *Stumble* ; And from the *Monday Night's* Remove out of *Hill's Chamber*, to the *Twelve-a-Clock* Adventure on the *Wednesday Night* following, to *Primrose Hill*, in the *Face*, and yet out of the *Sight*, it seems, of the *Guards* and *Watches*, is but the same *Unaccountable Foolery* all of a Piece.

There was a Plot first to make out the *Murder* 2ly. To make a Plot on't : And Then, to throw it up into the Air like a *Paper-Kite*, with *Protestant Religion*, *Privileges*, *Liberty* and *Property* at the *Tail* of it ; to set the *Mobile* a *Gaping* : So that it was to be made a *Murder* of the *First Magnitude* ; And they were in All *Conscience*, and *Reason*, to Assign some *Cause*, or *Provocation*, *Answerable* to so *Nefarious* a *Fact* : And what was This ; but either *Green's Revenge* for *Sir Edmund's* bearing hard upon him about a *Parish-Duty*, as *France* has it ; or to Force *Examinations* from him, according to *Bedloe's Project* ; which *Examinations* were Already before the *King* and *Council*, *Sworn Copies* of them in *several Hands* ; and the *Witnesses* then in *Being*, to swear them over again. Was This a *Matter of Moment*, to move the *Foundations* of *Three Kingdoms* ? Or was there ever a more *Senseless Pretext* in *Nature*, without either *Weight* in the *One*, or *Colour* in the *Other* ? But there was a *Third Reason* yet, which, by the help of a *Popular*, and a *Mercenary Eloquence*, made more *Noise* then the *other Two*. And that was his *Zeal* for the *Discovery* of the *Plot* ; and the *Enmity* he bare to the *Papists* ; when it is yet *Notoriously* known that he believed it a *Sham* from the *Beginning*, That he took *Tong* and *Otes* for a *Brace* of *False Miscreants* ; and that he was so far from being an *Enemy* to the *Papists*, that in *Cases* of *Need* he did them All the *Good Offices* he could.

And

And now to come to the *Chair-work*. A *Chair* it was, that certainly dropt out of the Clouds for This Particular Service, and went Thither again; for we do not find that it was either Made a Purpose, or who was the Owner of it; nor whence it came, nor whether it went at last. Only *Prance* tells us that [they set it in a new House by So-ho, till they came back again, &c. Tr. pag. 20.] And then we are to Imagin a Tall, Stiff Body to be Crowded Into't; and then Carry'd off with Ropes to Cut any Man's Shoulders to the Bone; a Brace of Bearers to't, that never set one Step in a Chair before; And 'tis a Thing of Time to Break your Chair-men to the Work, that they may March, and Trot together. But the Body is by This Time Cas'd, Hous'd, Sedann'd, Box'd-up, or call it what you will. Now the Matter duly Consider'd, the whole Train of the History is but One Insuperable Difficulty upon the Heel of Another. *Hill* brought the Sedan, They put him Into't; and upon a Hem in the Queens Court at Midnight, Berry open'd the Gate, fol. 19. In the *Lords Journal*, Dec. 24. It was but Half the Gate, and the Single Wicket would have serv'd as well too, and with Less Danger of giving the Alarm. And this was All to be done, and the Body and Chair-men, to Pass Invisibly too; for *Nicholas Trollop*, *Nicholas Wright*, and *Gabriel Hesketh*, that were plac'd Centinels by *Corporal Collet*, that Wednesday Night within the Gate, saw nothing of All This; though *Trollops* stood from Seven to Ten; *Wright* reliev'd him at Ten, and staid till One; *Hesketh* reliev'd him at One, and staid till Four. They all swear to the Night, to the Hour, to the Place, and Positively, that they kept to their Post, and that there was No Sedan Pass'd out at *Somerset-House* that Night. Berry's Maid, *Elizabeth Minshaw*, swears that her Master came Home That Night in the Dusk, and was not an Hour Out, 'till he went to Bed about Twelve. *Trial*, pag. 68, 69, 70.

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Consider the *Season* too, when there were *Two Plots a-foot at once*; *One* upon the *King*, and *Another* upon *Godfrey*: And a Man could hardly walk the *Streets*, without being taken for a *Suspected Person*: And they were to pass in the very *Teeth* of the *Watch* too: And why so Far, when they went every *Moment* in *Danger* of their *Lives*? And the *Single Question* of *Who goes there?* would have *Hang'd* them *All*: If they were but met, and *Examin'd*, they were *Lost*: So that wherever they found the *Coast Clear*, it would have been infinitely more for the *Bearers Security*, and for the *Impostors purpose* too, to have thrown the *Body* into the very *Kennel*, before the *Gate* of the *House*: Which would have given some *Countenance* to the *Sham*; or at a *Venture*, to have left both *Chair*, and *Body together*, Any where in the *Open Street* to have taken their *Fortune*.

Would any *People* in their *Right Wits* now, ever have sworn such a *Huddle* of *Inconsistencies* and *Contradictions*, into the *Pretext* of a *True History*? where the *Fact* was not only *False*, but so *Easily Prov'd* to be so?

Hill was gone abroad to *Dog Sir E. Godfrey* about *Nine* or *Ten* a *Clock* on *Saturday Morning*, *October 12. 1678. Tryal*, p. 17. This is *Prance's Story*: And *Elizabeth Curtis* agrees with *Mr. Prance* Exactly in *Point of Time*, as *Mr. Attorney Observes*, *Tryal*, p. 40. And this *Elizabeth Curtis* again, is *Sworn*, and *Examin'd*, *Tryal*, pag. 38. as *Sir Edmund's Servant*, which was a monstrous great *Hazard* they ran, to lay the *Stress* of an *Evidence*, upon her *Privy* to *Matters*, as a *Servant* in the *House*, when it was *Notorious* that she was never so: But only a *Poor Woman* that now and then did *Chair-work* for them. Now *Robert How* Swears, That upon *That Saturday*, *Hill* and *He* were together from about *Nine* till *One*, pag. 61. And *Richard Lazenby*
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Confirms *Hom's Testimony*, by his Evidence, that they two Din'd with *Hill* that *Saturday*. And *Lazenby* swears again, that upon the *Wednesday Night* following, he was with him from *Five* to *Seven*: And yet this was the Hour that *Girald*, *Green*, and *Hill* had *Dogg'd* him into *St. Clements*, Tryal, pag. 20. And so for *Elizabeth Curtis*, that swears Directly to the Particular Knowledge of *Green* and *Hill*, fol. 39. *Judith Pamphlin*, that liv'd in the House with Sir *Edmund*, deposeth quite another Matter: And *Avis Warriar* does very notably Corroborate *Pamphlin's Evidence*. *Pamphlin's Deposition* is This.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That she This Enformant, with her Daughter; *Elizabeth Draper*, (or *Eliz. Curtis*) going to *Newgate* by direction from *Henry Moor*, to take a view of *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill*, (at that time Prisoners there) to see if they could Remember that they had seen These Persons, or any of them, at Sir *Edmunds* House: she This Enformant did not remember any of them, and the said *Eliz. Draper* declar'd, at the same time, that she had not seen any of them Neither.

Now this same *Judith Pamphlin* that had Liv'd a year and a half in the Family, would have been a shrew'd Evidence against *Curtis*, as well as to many other Material Points then in Question; But she was kept safe enough, from Appearing. Her Evidence as to This Point, however, is most Particularly Confirm'd, by a Passage in a Letter of *Hills* to his Wife out of *Newgate*, as follows.

On the Thursday after I came to This Place, there came Two Grave Men like Justices, to Examine me; they call'd me not a few Rogues, and Order'd me to be Chain'd to Boards; but was set at Liberty in the Night.
The

The Monday after, they came again, and brought Two Women with them, which I suppose, were Sir Edmunds Servants. At first, when they came, they declar'd they had never seen me in their Lives: and said, it was a Lesser Man, and had Another kind of Face that brought the Letter. So I was sent up, but Immediately sent for down again, and a Barber sent for to Shave me, and when he had done they Whisper'd; what they said God knows, &c.

And then the Enformation of *Avis Warriar* Delivered upon Oath, March 18. 1685. runs in These Words.

Avis Warriar Deposeth, That one Robert Green belonging to the Queens Chappel, came to This Enformants House to Lodge some few days before Michaelmas-day, 1678. And to the best of the Enformants Memory, it was the Fryday before the said Michaelmas-day; And that the said Green Continued a Lodger in the House aforesaid, without Lying out of the House One Night; to the Best of This Enformants Memory and Knowledge; for the Space of about Five or Six Weeks: At which time, there came an Order to This Enformant, to give an account what Lodgers she had in the House, and who and what they were: Whereupon, the said Green Departed from his Lodging; and This Enformant gave an Account of the Rest.

This Enformant being Interrogated, if she remembers, upon what Day it was Reported that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey left his House; maketh Answer, That it was said to be upon a Saturday, that he was first Missing. And being likewise Interrogated, if she remembreth that she saw Robert Green above-said, upon the said Saturday. And at what Time, and How Long? And being demanded to give a Particular Answer to These Questions, She

this Enformant saith, That she did see Robert Green upon the same Saturday, when the said Sir Edmund was said first to be Missing; And that she well remembreth that it was the second Saturday following the Michaelmas-day aforesaid.

And saith further, That she this Enformant Particularly remembreth that the said Saturday was very Rainy, especially toward the Evening; And that about Six a Clock in the Evening, to this Enformants Best Remembrance, the said Robert Green came into the House of This Enformant, very wet; and took off his Hat, and Shuck it to Drain the Wet from it, and hung it upon the Door; The said Green asking for his Wife, and she not being within; he bad This Enformant tell his Wife when she came in, that he was gone to Georges Coffee-house, within Four Doors of the House of This Enformant, whither he went, as This Enformant Believes, and after about a Quarter of an hours stay, return'd to This Enformant again; and about half an hour afterward This Enformants Husband came home. And then This Enformant, with her Husband, the said Robert Green, and Robert Green's Wife, were in Company together, till a Good While after Ten.

And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how she Comes to Remember that Saturday so particularly, after so many years, This Enformant answereth, that she This Enformant remembreth very well, that she had bought Pigeons that very Saturday, that was intended for the Next days Dinner, with the said Robert Green and his Wife. And that hearing afterward the Name of the said Green mentioned, as one of the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, she This Enformant, together with her Husband, and others in the Family, enter'd into a Discourse upon the Matter, while the Time was yet fresh in their Memory, and they all agreed with This Enformant upon the Saturday before mention'd: And that the said Robert Green was in the House of This Enformant, in Manner

as

as is above-said, that very Saturday that Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey was said to be First Missing.

And saith further, That she This Enformant being Subpoena'd by Mrs. Green above mentioned, to give Evidence at the Tryal of the above said Robert Green, &c. to the Effect above-mention'd, there was an Elderly Woman in Mourning, that seeing This Enformant waiting to be call'd in for a Witness, among other Questions, ask'd This Enformant for whom she was to be a Witness? This Enformant making Answer, She did not know whom her words might serve for. And then asking This Enformant where she Liv'd? and being told that This Enformant Liv'd in the Strand, Oh then said the other, you come to give Evidence for my Master; This Enformant asking her who her Master was; the Woman made Answer to This Effect, The Gentleman that is Dead: This Enformant Asked the said Woman in Mourning, hereupon, Whether she had ever seen Robert Green before-spoken of, at her Masters House? Who Answer'd, That he had been twice at her Masters House that Day he was First Missing; This Enformant then bidding her have a Care, for there were Three Mens Lives at Stake, and there might be many more. And that she This Enformant had heard the said Green declare several times, before he was accus'd, that he never saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in his Life. To which the other reply'd, If it was not Green, 'twas Hill.

This Enformant saith further, upon Recollection, that the said Woman in Mourning Describ'd the said Robert Green by wearing a Black Periwig, instead of a Light Reddish Wig.

But then the Fancy of Horling away the Corps from So-ho to Prim-rose Hill, Carry'd as many Absurdities in the Face on't as ever met perhaps in an action of

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That Compass. The Body must be First Ply'd for the Chair ; and then made stiff, and streight again, for the Horse. Now either it was *stumbling-dark*, that it was in Danger of a *Tumble* every step they sat ; Or if *light*, in a *Greater Danger* of *Discovery* : But for the state of the *Moon*, My *Almanack* says, that it was the *First Quarter* upon *Sunday 23. Minutes past 3. in the Morning* ; And it was *Wednesday Night* following, when the Body was *Pack'd away*. A Man can hardly frame to himself a more surprizing *Figure* ; or a more *Unconth Contrivance*. A *Merry-Andrew* in fine, or a *Scaramouchi* could never have Presented any thing more *Ridiculous* : Over and Above the *Almost-Impassable Foulness* of the *Way* ; The *Difficulties* of *Hedge and Ditch* ; Nay and of *finding* the very *Way* to the *Place Design'd*. A *Dead Body Mounted Astride*, and a *Living Man* behind him, Holding him up, with his *Hat*, his *Sword*, his *Stick*, his *Gloves*, and All his *Little Bus'nesses* about him : as if they had been rather upon a *Freak* to fright People with a *Fantome*, and make 'em Believe the Place was *Haunted*, then to save their *Necks* by the *Concealment* of a *Murther* : But *Whence* came This *Horse* ? *Whose Horse* was he ? *Where* did *Hill* get him ? What *Became* of him *Afterwards* ? *Prance* before the *Lords* was ask'd the *Colour* of the *Horse*, *December 24. 1678*. And gave This Answer [*that though it was Dark, Yet he could Discern the Horse to be a Brown Horse.*] And in his *Deposition* of the *Date* above, he says likewise of the *Sedan*, that it was left in One of the *New Built houses*, and They took it up and brought it home as they came back : But the *Horse Disappear'd*, it seems, and so did the *Chair* too After the *Jobb* was over, for it was never heard of again. Now the *Horse* had like to have been *How's Horse* : And thereby Hangs a *Story*.

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And then, to My thinking, they were Out a Little in their *Reck'ning*, upon the very *Timing* of it. They set out at *Twelve*, and Considering that they were but *Young Chair-men*; *Ill settled in their Geeres*; a *Long Fobb*, and a *Heavy Burden*; *The Ways Dirty*, *The Night Dark*; And, in fine, laying All Circumstances together, they could not be well less then *Two hours and a half upon the Way*; And what with the *Time spent* in fiddling about the *Body*, and setting things to *Rights*, a Man may honestly Reckon it *five a Clock* before they got back again. *Prance swears* that he came home again, so soon as they had *Mounted* the *Corps*. *Hill* was a *Horse-back*, while *Green*, *Gerald*, and the *Irish Man* were left to bring home the *Chair*. And why did they bring it home again, to *Betray* themselves *Backward* as well as *Forward*? They tell us Nothing of *Restoring* the *Chair*, as if it had been *Borrow'd* or *Taken by stealth*: *Neither was the Sedan Ever heard of After That Time*: Nor do they Tell us where That same *Home* was: But the story of the *Horse* that I was speaking of, lyes so fit for my *Hand* in This Place, that it will be *VVorth* the *VVhile* to give the *Enformation* here at Length that I have upon This Subject.

Thomas Whitfield Deposeth, That in or about the Month of March 1680. This Enformant standing at his own Door in Cranborn-street near Leicester-Fields, one William Boyce, (well known to This Enformant) passing by, told this Enformant, that he was Carrying a Couple of Glass-Eyes into the Square, and would be with This Enformant again presently: and within less then half an hour, he the said William Boyce call'd at This Enformant's house accordingly.

And that the said William Boyce, and This Enformant, drank, and smok'd a Pipe together in the Fore-Room

Room of the said House, where, among other Discourses, He asked the Enformant if he had heard of the Difference betwixt him the said Boyce and Miles Prance: This Enformant replying that he had heard Nothing of it: Whereupon, Boyce told this Enformant, that Prance was a Great Rogue: This Enformant telling the said Boyce again, that He the said Boyce knew best, for He had had the Tutoring of him. Boyce going on, to Confirm it, that he was a Great Rogue; for, says Boyce, Prance and I dyn'd Together, and we did not Part, till betwixt Eleven and Twelve at Night, that very Day that Prance swore He was at the Murthering of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at Nine of the Clock at Night; when He was so Drunk, that I'm sure he was not able to Murther a Cock-Chicken.

And that as This Enformant was sitting with the said Boyce in the Fore-Room as above; One Robert Howes pass'd by into the Kitchen, the said Boyce saying, that he thought he should know That Man: to which This Enformant made Answer, Yes, it may be you May, Boyce asking if he was not a Carpenter? This Enformant telling him, Yes. Boyce asking again, if he did not belong to Somerset-house? This Enformant said, Yes, He was one of the Queens Carpenters. Well! says Boyce; he may thank me for his Life. This Enformant asking him, Why thank him for his Life? Boyce Answer'd, that if it had not been for Him (the said Boyce,) Prance would have sworn that it was Howes's Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill.

Upon This, the Enformant went and Call'd Howes out of the Kitchen, into the Fore-Room, and there told him, in the Prefence, and hearing of Boyce. Here Howes; Here's your savor, he that sav'd your Life: for if it had not been for Him, Prance would have sworn that it was Your Horse that Carry'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey to Primrose-hill: My Horse, says Howes? Why I have

sold my Horse Three Years ago: Boyce telling Howes, that Prance had brought in the said Howes, but for Him.

The Under-written Robert Whitfield of St. Martins in the Fields, declares upon his Oath, That Thomas Whitfield above mention'd, told the said Whitfield the effect of the foregoing Enformation for so much as concerns the Relation of what past betwixt the said Thoms Whitfield, and William Boyce; and that he told it to This Enformant about the time assign'd in the aforesaid Enformation.

To bring this Long Paper to an end at last. *This Part of the Confederacy seems to have been as Weak, and as Short in the Contrivance, and Manage of it, as it was Malicious in the Project; and there does not hitherto appear so much as One Glimpse of a Probability to keep it in Countenance. To say Nothing on the other Hand, of the Dying Testimony of Mr. Coleman, Hill, Green, Berry, Harcourt, Fenwick, &c. who did all Declare upon the Faith of Dying Men, that they were Innocent of that Murther. And I cannot Close This Section Better now, then with the Christian, and the Charitable Resignation of Poor Hill, in a Letter to his Wife upon This Occasion.*

My Dear Wife,

I Recommend you to that Good God of Heaven, who, I hope, will be both a Husband to you, and a Father to my Poor Child; If you Serve and Love him as you ought to do: And the First Thing you are to do, is Heartily to forgive him that is the Occasion of my Death; and not bear him any Malice, but leave the Revenge wholly to God, who knows best how to Revenge the Innocent. This I earnestly beg of you to do, and likewise to Desire all my Friends to pray to God Almighty, that if it be his Divine Will

Will, that this Little Suffering may Mitigate his Just Wrath against me for my heinous Sins.

We have Proceeded thus far, in so Full, so Clear, so Particular, and so Faithful a Deduction of Matters, that there's hardly Any thing more Left for a Man to wish for, toward the Satisfaction, either of his Curiosity, or his Judgment, upon This Subject. The Imposture from One End to the Other, is made up of Unlikelyhoods, Incoherences, and Contradictions, without so much as One Point in the whole Story that will bear a Colour. Take each of the Witnesses, a-part, and he gives himself the Lye to his own Teeth; Take them Together, and they dash one another to pieces. But 'tis to be hoped, that the Two Principals were well Seconded as to the Credit, both of the Matter, and of the Evidence; and it will be but Fair Dealing to Examine the Ballance.

The First Witness that opens upon the Tryal for the King (as they call it) as to the Point here in Question, is Otes: And the Short of his Evidence is This, That Two Days after the Swearing of his Depositions, Sir Godfrey came to him, and told him of Affronts he had Receiv'd from some Great Persons for being so Zealous, and of others Threatning him for being too Remiss: telling him a while after, how he had been Menac'd by several Popish Lords; and that he went in fear of his Life, by the Popish Party, that had been Dogging him several Days, Tryal, fol. 12. The use made of This Evidence was to shew that his Forwardness in the Discovery of the Popish Plot, was the Thing that set them on to Murther him; and that he Dreaded Mischief from them Himself upon That Account. Ibid.

Now instead of Sir Edmund's being too Forward, in One Page, he was, it seems, too Backward in Another; for he told Mr. Robinson, That he took Otes's Examination

tion very unwillingly, and would fain have had it done by others. And then upon Mr. Robinson's wishing, That the Depth of the Matter were found out. I am afraid (said he) of That, that it Is not. But Discourring further, he said These Words, Upon my Conscience, I believe I shall be the first Martyr. Now Sir Godfrey's Apprehension was not from the Papists for fear of a Discovery, but partly for incurring the Danger of a Misprision, upon the Concealment of it; and partly for Another Reason, as will be more Expresly set forth hereafter.

Brown the Constable swears to the Posture they found the Body in; The Sword, the Bruises, the Neck, the Stick, and the Gloves, and to No Bloud in the Ditch: And Five Lines Afterwards, That there was No Bloud at all when the Sword was taken out; He does not say [Where] but [When] fol. 36. and so saves himself by the Reservation of Meaning the Ditch still; for he Swears elsewhere, to a Great Quantity of Bloud that came Gubling out. But People were over-aw'd, and made the best Shift they could to keep themselves in a Whole Skin. Beside that there lyes No Strefs at all upon This Testimony.

The Attorney General call'd then for the Surgeons that View'd, and Open'd the Body; That is, Mr. Skillarn, and Mr. Cambridge, who were both Sworn, fol. 36. This Hint made the Court take it for Granted, that the Body was Open'd, as it ought to have been, whereas it was not Open'd at All, any further, then with a Little Incision to let out some Corrupt Matter: Nay, Skillarn Mov'd the Godfreys to have it Open'd: and could not get any Answer from them. Mr. Skillarn speaks to the Bruises; The Distortion of the Neck; The Two Wounds; and that there was More done to his Neck then an ordinary Suffocation. If the Wounds had Kill'd him

him, his *Muscles* would have been *Turgid*, he says. He observ'd, that *Strangled People* never *Swell*. If he had Dy'd of the *Wound*, there would have been *Some Evacuation of Bloud*, at least, which there was *Not*; And then again, *That the Wound went through his very Heart*; and there would have appar'd *Some Bloud*, if it had been done quickly after his *Death*: So that the *Main Point in Issue* is This, Whether there was any *Evacuation of Bloud*, or *No*.

Mr. *Cambridge* speaks also to the *Bruises*; *Two Punctures*; His *Neck Dislocated*; and delivers his Opinion, *That the Wound was given him after his Death*, fol. 38. but without shewing any *Reason* for't. Now *These Two Evidences* are so far from *Proving the Strangulation*, that if *We Prove the Bloud*, *They* do, Effectually, give up the *Cause*.

The next Person call'd for, is *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Mayd*, *Elizabeth Curtis*. She knows *Green*, saw him, and talk'd with him at her *Masters*, about a *Fortnight* before his *Death*; spoke to him in *French*, which she could not understand, it seems, pag. 38. and yet, swears 'twas *French*; Swears *Positively* to the *Knowledge of the Man*; The *Colour of his Periwig*: How *Long* he was with her *Master*, &c. And then immediatly Charges *Hill* with coming to her *Master That Saturday Morning*; and *Talking in the Parlour with him*: she saw him afterward in *Newgate*; and so she turns it off with a *Sleeveless Story* of some Body that brought a *Note* to the *House* upon the *Friday* before; and there the *Question* was very *Civilly dropt*. Now this is an *Oath* to go for *Nothing*, as well as *Otes's*. For in *Taking* upon her to know *Green* and *Hill*, she's *Forsworn* upon the *Testimony* of *Two or Three Enformations*, already *Produc'd*. I must not pass over a *Deposition* of this *Elizabeth Curtis*, or *Draper*, bearing Date the 8th. of *January*, 167⁸. before the *Lords Committees* in the

Council-Chamber, where she swears, [That she Lived off and on for about Six Years with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey before his Death.] This Off and On, must be taken for her Chare-Days, when she came to help Scour the Pewter, or Clean the House; for she never was a Servant in That Family in all her Days.

She Swears further, that Green came to her Master's House a Fortnight before he was Murther'd, bringing with him in his Company, one in a Purple Colour'd Livery, who stood at the Door; and that the said Green spake to her Master, First, in French, and Afterwards in English. We have No News now of the Purple Livery, in the Tryal; And that which was first in French, and Afterwards in English, in the Council-Chamber, was turn'd Cross at the Kings Bench. [Green said, Good Morrow, Sir, in English, and Afterwards spake to Sir E.B. Godfrey in French, Tryal, pag. 38.]

We are to make room now for the Master and Man at the Plow Ale-house. Prance swears to a Discourse there with Green, Hill, and Girald, about the Murther of Godfrey; The House Proves that they had been There together, and the very Meeting Presumes the Design.

Here's the Collateral Evidence that was offer'd, in Favour of Bedloe's, and Prance's Testimony, which I shall Leave fairly before the Reader, to weigh one against the other.

C H A P. XIV.

The Extreme Difficulty of Reconciling the History of the Murther at Somerset-House, to the Matters of Fact as they appear'd in the Ditch at Primrose-Hill; and upon the Verdict. The Reasons of That Difficulty, and how it might have been in some Measure Prevented.

AFTER so many Several Tales, and Those Several Tales, so many Several Ways Told too, of one and the same Thing. After the Saying and Swearing of That same [Same] Thing, to be done in so many Several Places, Shapes, and Manners; At so many Several Times; By so many Several Methods and Persons, upon such and such Several Reasons; and to so many Several Ends; It can be no Longer a Question, I say, upon the Whole Matter; After These Diversities, Disagreements and Contradictions, Whether the Point in Issue be True, or False; For Truth is Simple, Uniform, Consistent with it self, and in Every Line and Article of it, Still, and Ever the same. This is the very Case, betwixt the History of the Somerset-House-Murther upon Saturday, and That of the Dead Body that was found the Thursday following. They are, without more ado, so Unlike; so Forreign; Nay so Contrary, One to Another, in many Passages even of the Greatest Weight; that they Agree only in the Name of the Justice; Infomuch, that Supposing Two Sir Edmund Godfreys, the Relation might very well Pass for an Account of Two several Persons.

Now since it is a Thing Utterly Impossible to Unite These Variations, and Oppositions in the same Point; and to make good Evidence to the VWorld; of Those Allegations

legations that are Never to be *Reconcil'd*; I am, in This Chapter, to Ask *Bedloes* and *Prances Pardon*, for having made such *Fools* of a Couple of the *Kings Witnesses* in some Half a dozen Chapters before, as if it had been *VWholly Their Fault*; that Things and Things *Cotton'd* No better together; when, in very Deed, Their *Present Circumstances*, and the *Parts* they had in the *Plot*, *Duly Consider'd*, they were at That Time, Under a *Moral Necessity*, either of laying themselves open, or of doing Things not to be Done: So that for want of *Well-grounded Presumptions*, and *Authentique Proofs* to move mens *Understandings*, they were fain to Content Themselves with *Dazling* the *Peoples Eyes*, and *Boyling* up their *Passions*, by the most *Popular*, and *Plausible Arts* the Matter would bear. Where the *Sham* was not *strong* enough to stand upon its own *Legs*, the *Security* of his Majesties *Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*; the *Honour* of so many *Parliaments*, the *Wisdom* of the *Nation*, and the *Credit* of the *Kings Witnesses*, were All Call'd in to the *Upholding* of it; and the *Restless Alarms* of *Popish Fires*, *Massacres*, and *Faggors*, were like so many *Rods in Piss*, for Those *Infidels*, that had not the *Grace* to give *Credit* to a *Forgery*, so *Necessary* to be *Believ'd*. VWhen I speak of the *Difficulty* of *Reconciling* the *History* to the *Fiction*, in This *Present Instance*, I do not Mean, that the making a *Plausible Imposture* of it, was a Thing *Utterly Impossible*, if it had been *Attended* in *Time*; though I am very well awate too, that *Falsity* can Never Pass for *Truth*, but for want of *Means*, and *Industry* to find out where the *Inconciliable Difference Lyes*: But the *Difficulties* to be *Treated* of in This Place are of *Another Quality*; and not so much arising from the *Contradictions* in the *Nature* of *True* and *False*, as *Peculiar* to the *State* of Things in That *Juncture*, and to the *Matter* in *Hand*.

The Body was found out of Town yonder, in a Ditch; and the Murther was laid at Somerser-House. The Death of Sir Edmund was made a Murther; Nay, and a Popish Murther; as is formerly Observ'd, even while he was *Met Alive*. Now this could be no other, then an *Ominous Foreboding* upon a *Desperate Melancholy*, which he had then upon him. For there was No Talk of any *Apprehension* he had of the *Papists*, 'till the very day that he left his House. We shall speak in Another Place, to the Bus'ness of his Saying, that he should be the first Martyr, or the first Man that should suffer. The Faction had no sooner made a Popish Murther of this Disaster, but it dropt Naturally into the Common Receptacle of All Rogneries, the Pretended Popish Plot. This Occasion lay so fair, for the Hand of the Republican Conspirators, who under Another Pretext, were at that time Designing upon the King, the Royal Line, and the Monarchy it self, that having drawn his Royal Highness, the Queen Confort, and Almost the Late Blessed King Himself into the Confederacy, they thought they could not do better, then to make her Majesties Palace the Scene of the Villany.

This was the Ground-work of the Mock-Tragedy, that Our Knights of the Post, Bedloe and Prance (Nay, Ores came in for a Snack too) afterward, Play'd their Parts in, upon That Stage. In one Syllable, the Plot-Cabal Lodg'd it there, and Bedloe took them at their Word, and Swore to't there; by which Unlucky Blunder, the Project was as good as Curs'd in the Cradle; for when it was once Lodg'd within Those Walls, there was no removing of it, at least, without taking the House for Company. The Story, 'tis true, went off well enough at Volley, for a good while, and pass'd Current among the People, upon Content, without either Weighing, or Computing it: But when they came once to Confront Matters, and to Adjust Things to Things, they

they found themselves Horribly out in their Measures, and that they might as well pretend to bring Heaven and Hell together, as to Tally the Two Stories of Somerset-house and Primrose-Hill. There was the Hat, the Gloves, the Stick, the Sword, the Ditch, the Posture, the Two Wounds, the Bruises, the Fly-blows, the Blood, the Linnen Cloth, the Looseness of his Neck, and the Circles about it, &c. Now All these Cases and Accidents were to be Obviated, and Provided for in the Counter-part: As in some sort they were too. There was a Twisted Hankercher and a Crevat to Answer the Linnen Cloth: Green to Wring his Neck about: Hill and the rest to Punch him, to Encounter the Bruises, Tryal, fol. 13. Hill, Kelly, and Gerald to run him through with his own Sword, throw him into a Ditch, and lay his Gloves, and other Things upon the Bank, Tryal, fol. 20. to make the Tale Square with the Original. To say nothing of the Risque of Discovery upon the Place, or upon the Way; and the Vanity of so much as Hoping to Prevail upon any Man in his Right Wits, either to Undertake, or Believe so Ridiculous an Adventure. Upon the whole Matter, If People had but taken Half the Pains to Detect, and to Crush this Imposture, that they did to Countenance, and Conceal it, the Cheat could never have stood a Six Minutes Close Examination: For the Witnesses Launch'd out into such a Variety of Circumstances, and Matters, that it was wholly Impossible for them so to Concert their Lessons, as not to lye open to a Hundred Surprizes.

It was a kind of Fantastical, if not an Unaccountable Resolution taken, to send the Body away to Primrose-hill, and just to such a Ditch there; A Place that 'tis odds none of the Assassins ever so much as heard of Before; and to give such Orders as they pretend they did, about the Disposing of things with the Body, the Sword, the Stick, the Gloves, &c. Now whether this was History,

or

or Forgery, let the World Judge. But in Fact, the Body was there: So and so Found; and, in the Congruity of the Counterfeit, it must be thither carry'd, and so and so laid. The Distance, the Danger, the Chair, and the Difficulties of the Way thither, are the Sobereſt part of the Foolery. Nay, and by the ſtrangeſt Conſent of Thought that ever was heard of, the Murtherers Pitch'd upon the very Place, upon the Wednesday Night, that Sir Godfrey Enquir'd the Way to, the Saturday Morning before.

There were, in fine, a Number of Inextricable Difficulties in the Way, as they had order'd the Contrivance. But the Mother-Over-ſight, and in Truth, the Root of all the Difficulties, and Croſs Accidents, that Follow'd, was the laying of the Murther ſo far at fiſt from the Place where the Body was found. For if they had but Hounded him to Primroſe-Hill, inſtead of Dugging him to Somerſet-Houſe, and open'd the Intrigue upon the very Spot; the Myſtery of This Project might have remain'd a Secret to the Day of Judgment: Eſpecially, having ſo fair a Pretence to Look for him That Way: for this was not only known to be Sir Edmund's Uſual Walk, but he was ſeen Going thitherward, and taken Notice of to Enquire which was the way to That Place, that very Morning: So that for Brevities ſake, they ſhould have Smother'd, or Stifled, or Strangled him, or what they would have call'd it elſe, and then have run him through with his own Sword, in the very Ditch it ſelf, which would have Prevented all the enſuing Dangers betwixt the Cup and the Lip, as they ſay. If they had gone that way to Work, there would have been no need of a Comment upon the Text of Somerſet-houſe. The Story of the Crevats, the Piſtols, and the twiſted Handkercher; the Water-Gate, and the Court-Gate; the Plotters, and the Quarrels; the Stable-yard, the Upper Court, the Inviſible Chair, and the Dead Body a-Cock-horſe,

horse, would have been All out of Doors. There would have been no need of *Witch-craft* to cast *Mists* before the *Eyes* of the *Guards*. But in fine, *All these Plunges*, and a *Hundred and Fifty* more, might have been fav'd, and the *VVitnesses* might have brought *Green*, *Berry*, and *Hill* as *Cheap* to the *Ditch*; Especially when they had him (as *Prance* says) in *Red-Lyon-Fields* already, and have *Sworn* as *true* to the *One*, as they did to the *Other*; But This was the Fault of the *First Discoverer*. *Bedloe's* heart was so set upon the *Five Hundred Pound*, that he thought of nothing else; and when the *Word* was once pass'd, and the *Charge Rivetted* to *Somerset-House*, there was *No Recalling*, *No Unclenching* of it. But now if he had thought on't time enough, to have Order'd the *Regulation* of This *Murther* in the *Chappel-Gallery*; and the *Execution* of it about the *White-House*, the *History* might have been kept up to the *Decorum* of a *Probable Truth*. I must not slip the *Occasion* here of *Obviating* a *Question* that very frequently offers it self in this Case [*If this was Sir Edmund's usual Walk, why should he ask the Way to a Place that he knew as well as any body could tell him?*] There's no *Divining* upon *Men's Thoughts*; but since it is certain he knew the way; and no less certain, that he did Ask the *VVay*; and that he did not Ask it Neither, as *Ignorant* of it, or as *Needing* the *Enformation*. *VVhy* might not his *Enquiry* be intended for a *Hint*, or a *Light* to *People* where they should look for him, when they should afterwards come to miss him?

C H A P. XV.

Supposing the Murther of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey to have been a Branch of the Popish Plot; (as it was Commonly Reputed.) If there was no such Plot, there was No such Murther.

THERE was a Time, when a *Popish Murther* was Trumpt up for the *Proof of a Popish Plot*; but we are Now as hard put to't for want of a *Plot to Prove That Murther*, as we were Formerly for want of a *Murther to Prove That Plot*: In short, there's no Reconciling Either of them to it self, *Apart*; or *Both, Each to the Other*. If there was *No Popish Plot*, There was Consequently *No Popish Murther*; at least upon *That Bottom*: Unless a Man shall suppose a *Branch* without a *Root*; or an *Effect*, without a *Cause*. If there were *No Treasonous Consults*, how should there be *Murderous Practices Grounded upon Imaginary Councils*? The *Equity of Ores's Conviction of Willful, Malicious, and Corrupt Perjury, at the King's Bench Bar, Westminster, the 8th. of May 1685. upon the Jesuits Tryal in the Busness of That Plot*, lyes every Jot as strong, in *Parity of Reason, and of Justice, against Prance and Bedloe, for This Pretended Branch of That Pretended Conspiracy*. They Hang both upon the same String, and whoever Overthrows the One, Trips up the Heels of the Other. That is to say, where the Matter of *Fact* is *False* in the foundation, All *Inferences* from it must be so likewise, in the *Superstructure*: and whatsoever *Bedloe and Prance* have Sworn upon a *Plot* where there was *None*, is only the *Seconding of one Perjury with Another*; For the *Profligate Improbability of the Witnesses Blasts the Credit of the Murther*, as well as of the *Treason*. I do not say

say but that there might be a *Murther*, and yet *No Conspiracy*: Nay, I say there might be a *Murther Executed* by *Papists* too; and yet *That Murther* not a *Popish Assassinate* neither, for I would *Distinguish* the *Wicked Practices* of some particulars in *All Religions*, from the *Wicked Principles* of a *Whole Body* of Men, of *This*, or *That Persuasion*; so that we have a *Great Many Steps* to make, before we come to a *Resolution* upon *This Question*. We take it for *Granted*, *First*, (as we find it upon *Record*) that *Otes's Popish Plot* was an *Imposture*. 2dly, That if there was *No Popish Plot*, there could be *No Popish Branch* of it: From whence it will *Now Follow*, that *Prance* and *Bedloe* are *Manifestly forsworn* in *Every Tittle* of their *Evidence*, that either *Imputes* the *Murther* to the *Conspiracy*, or lends a helping hand to the *Confirming* of the *Forgery*. They *Swore* the *Murther* into the *Plot*, for the *Sake* of the *Plot*; Not the *Plot* into the *Murther*, for the *Sake* of the *Murther*. And though *Bedloe* came in to give *Evidence* to the *Murther*, 'twas his *Swearing* to the *Plot*, that got him the 500*l*. And to make the best on't, his *Perjury* in the *One Case* made him *Incompetent* in the *Other*.

To *Sum up All* in a *Little*, (for I am *Now* about to *Cloze* the *First Part* of *This Discourse*) Was *Godfrey Murther'd* at *Somerset-house*, according to the *Depositions* of *Bedloe*, and *Prance*, or was he *Not*? What *Inducement* have we to *believe* it? or what *Arguments*, or *Objections* to the *Contrary*? As to the *Credibility* of the *Fact* in *Issue*; There were so many *Contradictions* in the *Watching*, and *Dogging* of him, in the *Manner* of *Destroying* him; in the *Concealing*, and *Removing* of him; in the *Means* of *Carrying him away*; and in other *Circumstances* of *Time*, and *Place*, as *Never* were heard of in *This World* from the *Months* of *Two Credible Witnesses*. They Might as well have *Sworn* to the *Conveying* of him into the *Ditch* in a *Mist*, or upon a *Broom*.

Broom-stick, as in a Chair, or on Horse-back. Bedloe swears against Bedloe and Prance; and Prance swears against Prance and Bedloe. They swear One thing before the Lords Committees, and quite Another thing at the Tryals. Infomuch, that Light and Darknes might as well have been Reconcil'd, as These Testimonies, either severally, or One to Another. In one Word: What shall I need to say more on't, then Effectually is said Already? The Story is Wholly Inconsistent with it self; never any thing more Ridiculously Projected, more scandalously Attested; or, upon Comparing of Evidences, more Impossible to be True. So that here's the First Question of Sir Godfrey's being Murther'd at Somerset-house, Clear'd beyond All Dispute, or Contradiction. And Consequently the End of This My First Part, Answer'd, to All Intents and Purposes. For we are not more Certain of any thing, then we are Morally Sure, that the Pompos History of This Pretended Villany, has been, from End to End of it, a State-Cheat, and No other, then a Palpable Imposture.

But some People will not Content themselves perhaps, with a Negative upon the Abuse; in satisfying the World that he was Not kill'd in the Place, and Manner, as is laid in the Indictment; Unless they may receive Further Satisfaction, How, Where, and by Whom, he was brought to his End. Now This Case Lyes so much in the Dark, by what Hand soever it was done, that Reasonable Collections, Inferences and Pregnant Presumptions, are All in the very Nature of the Thing, the Matter in Question will bear: But I shall leave the Reader to his own Freedom of Belief, or Judgment, upon a Fair Report of the Fact, as he shall find it Impartially Deliver'd in the Second Part of This Discourse.

The End of the First Book.

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THE
MYSTERY
OF
DEATH

Sir C. B. Godfrey

UNFOLDED

PART II

CHAPTER I

The indication of Green Perry, and the
the Ground of Sir William Jones, Law and
Edinburgh

THE Whole sum of the Matter here in the
within This Chapter, under an Examination
Godfrey was observed in some of the
according to the Order of Bedlam, and the

THE
 MYSTERY
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 UNFOLDED.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

*The Vindication of Green, Berry, and Hill, upon
 the Ground of Sir William Jones's Law and
 Equity.*

THE Whole Sum of the Matter here in Issue, lyes
 within This Compass; *Either* Sir Edmundbury
 Godfrey was *Murther'd* in Somerset-House,
according to the Oaths of Bedloe and Prance, or he was
 M 2 Not.

Not. Whoever supposes that he *Was*, must take This Along with him, that he was *Murther'd* in *Several Places*; by *Several Instruments, Ways, and Means*, for *Differing Reasons*, and with *Differing Ends*, and *Designs*. And in short, that he was *Murther'd One Way* before the *Lords Committees*, and *Several Other Ways* upon the *Tryals* of the *Pretended Criminals*. These *Contradictions* and *Inconsistences* are layd as open as the *Day*, in the *Former Part* of This *Little History*; and the *Witnesses* turn'd *Naked* into the *World*, without so much as a *Fig-leaf* to cover their *Shame*. Nay, and without so much as an *Advocate*, to Excuse them from a *Deliberate*, and *Wilful Perjury*. We are all satisfy'd, they cry, that he was *Not Kill'd* at *Somerset-House*; and that the whole *History* of it is an *Imposture*: But it will be a harder piece of *Work* to make it out, *How, Where, and by Whom* he *Was Kill'd*, then *How, Where, and by Whom* he was *Not*. *Conjecture*, they say, is *No Evidence*, and we have not the least *Glimmering* of any *Light* toward the *Certain Truth*, and *Knowledge* of This *Matter*.

The *World* cannot give a *Better Answer* to This *Objection*, then what *Sir William Jones* has put in my *Mouth*; upon the *Summing up* of the *Evidence* at the *Trial* of *That Cause*.

[*Mr. Attorney General.*] My *Lord*, I shall be bold to say, here is certainly as much *Evidence* as the *Matter* is *Capable* of. It is not to be *Expected*, that they should call *Witnesses* to be *By*, when they do such *Foul Facts*: so that *None* can swear directly the *Fact*, but such a *One*, as was an *Actor* in't: All *Circumstances* relating to the *Fact*, both *Before*, and *After*, are made out by *Concurrent Testimony*. *Greens Trial, pag. 72.*

Now if the Matter here in hand be of the same Quantity, and the same Secrecy; (with Sir William Jones's Instance) and supported by More, and by stronger Circumstances, relating to the Fact, both Before, and After; Why may not my Circumstances go as far toward the Vindicating of the memory of Three Innocents, as Mr. Attorneys Circumstances did, toward the taking away of their Lives? And why may not my Concurrent Testimonies, with the Great Odds of Weight, and Number, do as much toward the Retrieving, and the Establishing of a Truth, as the Concurrent Testimony that Mr. Attorney here speaks of, did toward the Supporting, and the Authorizing of an Imposture? He that Kills Himself, goes as Privately to Work as Any Other Man would do that were to Kill him. And if none but an Actor can swear Directly to the Fact, it were madness to require a Witness to a Felo de se, when there's no Man left alive to bear Testimony: And I have This Advantage Over and Above, (as I say) that I shall here set up a Greater Number of Fairer Likelyhoods, and more Pregnant Presumptions of Subornation, and Perjury; to Supply the Want of a Point-Blank-Evidence: And Leave No room for Doubting to any Man, that would not stretch his Belief farther in favour of Falshood and Oppression, then to Assert the Cause of Truth, and Justice.

The Paragraph above-Cited has so many Remarkable strokes in't, that 'tis pity any of it should be Lost, and so I'll go on with it.

My Lord, I must Observe, that it was a Murther, Committed through Zeal to a False Religion; and That Religion was a Bond of Secrecy. We all know his Majesty hath been Graciously pleased by his Proclamation to Propose a Pardon, and a Reward to the Discoverers. And yet almost without Effect; Their Zeal to a False Religion was a Greater Obstacle, then the Proclamation

was an Incitement to the Discovery. And I do believe, if Mr. Prance had not had some Inclination to Change his Religion, You had still been without so Clear a Discovery of This Work of Darknes, as now you have, Ibid.

Here's a Murther Presum'd, upon the Evidence of a False Oath; Religion made the Ground and the Bond of That Murther; And yet at the same Time, Three Other Murthers Design'd, Carry'd-on and Accomplished, upon the Credit of it; beside Innumerable Other Mischiefs that lay out of sight, under the Veil of Hidden Events. The King's Proclamation did, in Truth, fall short of Producing a Discovery; but the Five Hundred Pound Promis'd in't, prov'd a Temptation to a Most Damnable Cheat: (for that was the Lure that brought Bedloe down.) To say Nothing of an Evidence-Profelyte: in making Prance's Forswearing himself, to be the Test of his Conversion. Only once again now, and I have done.

I shall say no more, but Conclude to the Jury, with That saying, that I remember in the Book of Judges (in the Case of a Murther too, though of Another Nature) Judg. 19. 30. (The People said, there was No such Deed Done, Nor seen, from the Day that the Children of Israel came out of Egypt:] And I may say, There was Never such a Barbarous Murther Committed in England, since the People of England were freed from the Yoke of the Pope's Tyranny; And as 'tis said There, so say I, Now, Consider of it; Take Advice; and speak your Minds. Ibid.]

A Man should have been very sure of his Point, before he Lash'd out into so Bold a Figure; for here is Scripture call'd into his Aid, for the Illustrating of a Forgery,

Forgery. Here's One *Notorious Murther*, (in the *False Witness*, That is.) Supported, under the Colour of *Arraigning Another*. And here's the *Actual*, the *Treasonous*, and the *Sacrilegious Murther* of a *Pious*, a *Gracious*, and a *Merciful King*, set in *Ballance*, with the *Fictitious Murther* of a *Malancholique Justice*; and found *Light* upon the *Comparison*. But be it as it will, here's *Case* against *Case*: And so long as I have the *Authority* and *Opinion* of Sir William Jones on my Side, as to the *Legal Competency* of *Circumstantial* and *Presumptive Evidences*, Ple make no Difficulty of casting my Reputation upon the *Merits* of the *Cause*. Only a Word or Two by way of Preparatory, that I may slide Naturally into my *Bus'ness*.

'Tis out of Doubt, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Dy'd a *Violent Death*; but whether by *Another Hand*, or by his *Own*, is the *Single Question*: Now One of the Two it *must* be; though *Which* of them, is not as yet *Determin'd*: If by the *Former*, there must have been some *Notorious Grudge*, *Quarrel*, or *Controversie*, whereupon to ground so *Mortal a Malice*, and *Revenge*. If by the *Latter*, 'tis no New Thing for a Man that lyes under either the Load of a *Hideous Melancholy*, or the Power of a *Temptation* that he has not Strength to *Resist*, (though otherwise of never so Fair a Life and Conversation) to sink under the *Horror* of his own *Thoughts*, and to *Lay Violent Hands upon Himself*. Now how far any thing of This might appear in the *Circumstances* of his *Temper* and *Condition*, is a Point that a *Thinking Man* would not on either hand wholly pass over without looking both ways upon This Occasion.

First, as to any Matter of *Grudge*, *Quarrel*, *Controversie*, or *Rancorous Animosity*, *Private*, and *Personal*; I cannot Learn that there has been any Thing of This, either *Observ'd*, *Apprehended*, or *Suggested*: Nor in

Truth (which was a wonderful Thing) that any of his Family were ever so much as *Examin'd* to *That Point*. But in a Word, for want of a *Personal Pretence*, they have turn'd it to the Spleen of a *Party*, and Grafted the *Murder* into the *Conspiracy*: However; for *Colour* sake, There were *Two Reasons Assign'd*; The *One*, *Special*; and the *Other*, *General*; as the *Inducements* to This *Barbarous Fact*. The *Former* was the taking of *Tong's* and *Otes's Depositions*; which (as I have it elsewhere) would not have Signify'd a *Single Hair of a Man's Head*; if *Ten Thousand Lives* had depended upon the Matter there *Depos'd*. The *Other Reason* was as *Groundless* as the *Former* was *Frivolous*: [The *Murder* (says the *Kings Council*) was *Committed* upon a *Gentleman*, and upon a *Magistrate*; and I wish he had not *Therefore* been *Murder'd*, because he was a *Protestant Magistrate*. *Greens Tryal*, fol. 7. And he was very *Industrious* in finding out the *Principal Actors* in this *Plot*. *Ibid*. This was the Song in all the *Narratives*, *Pamphlets*, and *Tryals*; That the *Papists* *Murder'd* him; and *Principally*, for the *Hatred* he bore *That Party*.

Now This is so *Notorious a Mistake*, that he Liv'd in a strict *Confidence*, and *Friendship*, with *Divers Roman Catholiques* of *No mean Quality*, and *Character*. He was so far from *Promoting* the *Plot*, that he took it for a *Cheat* from the *Beginning*; Gave his *Royal Highness* an *Account* of *Otes's Depositions*; and so likewise to some *Other Men of Honour* of the *Roman Communion* upon the *First Taking* of them: Nay he was so *Tender* of any *Oppression* *That way*, that upon the bringing of one *Mr. Burnet a Priest* before him to be *Examin'd*, and *Proceeded* against according to *Law*, *Sir Edmund* made his *Application* to *Dr. Godden* (then belonging to the *Queen*) about him; told him how it was, and, though at *That Time* a *Stranger* to him, desir'd

desir'd him to use what Means he could, either by her Majesty, or by a Secretary of State, to Prevent his going to Prison; and in the mean while, he Himself would put the Bus'ness off as long as he could.

So that hitherto, there appears neither Interest, nor Provocation, Private, or Publique, toward the taking away This Gentleman's Life; but, for want of a more Plausible Pretext, there has been Objected over and over the Frequency of his Exclamations, that he should be the First Martyr; That he should be the first Man to suffer in the Cause; and other various Readings upon Words of his to That Purpose, according to the Relish of the People's Fancy, or Palate, that Heard them. Now this was an Expression that Carry'd the Best Countenance of a Favourable Insinuation of any that they made use of: But there's Nothing said in all these Fore-bodings, from what Quarter it was that the Danger Threaten'd him; only he told Otes (if Otes does not Bely him) [That he was in a great Fright, and went in fear of his Life by the Popish Party. Greens Tryal, fol. 12.] Wherein, Otes's Sagacity supply'd a Dark Text, (to speak in his own fine way) with an Elucidating Comment, worth Twenty of the Alexandrian Version of the Septuagint that he presented the Jesuits with. But why he should be affraid of his Known Friends, and of Those that knew him to be Their Friend: And why should he be Affraid of the Papists, for fear of Spoiling Their Plot, when he had Already, so much as in Him lay, Spoil'd Otes's Plot, by Discovering the Roguery of it upon the first Instance; Why, I say, the Papists should Murther Sir Edmundbury Godfrey contrary to all the Rules of Morality, Humanity, Gratitude, Justice, and Common Prudence; and do All This to No Manner of Purpose too; is a Mystery wholly Unaccountable. We shall speak to his Exclamations by and by: But First to his Melancholy; and Then, Leave the World to Judge,

Judge whether These Ejaculatory Starts, and Apprehensions took their Rise from Splenetick Vapours, or from any Reasonable Fears.

In the Handling of This Subject, I shall Range what I have to say under These Following Heads; and Assign to every Head a Chapter by it self, for the avoiding of either Prolixity, or Confusion.

First, What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey observ'd to be in upon the Morning, and Day, when he last left his House?

2ly. What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy, before he left his House? And what Opinion, or Apprehension had People of it?

3ly. What Opinion, or Apprehension had Sir E. B. Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before he went away?

4ly. What did Sir E. B. Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants, and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away to the Time when the Body was found?

CH A P. II.

What Humour was Sir E. B. Godfrey Observ'd to be in upon the Morning and Day when he last Left his House?

SIR E. B. Godfrey went away from his House in Harts-horn-Lane, upon Saturday Morning, the 12th of October, 1678. People are Divided about the Hour, but most Agree that it was Early. Now from the Time of his Departure, we shall Date the Entrance into our Discourse upon This Subject, and begin with the

Even

Evidence of his Clerk, Henry Moor; as to Some Passages of That Morning.

Henry Moor Deposeth, That he was Sole Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for a year and half before his Death; and that after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the several Depositions of Tong and Otes, he This Deponent Observ'd him to be Under Great Discontent, and in Disorder many times, and wished they had never come to him.

And further This Deponent saith, That between the Hours of Nine and Ten in the Morning, on the same Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in the year One Thousand Six Hundred Seventy and Eight, Left his House, He This Deponent was in the Parlour with him, and he bid this Enformant help him on with a New Chamblet Coat, which he did; but presently after, Order'd him to help him on with an Old Chamblet Coat, which he told this Deponent would Serve that Day well enough; and Immediately after his said Coat was put on, he went out of the Room, and was going abroad, and at the Gate, going out of the Yard into the Lane, he Suddenly Stopt, and turn'd Himself toward this Deponent, and Looked Seriously upon him, as if he would have said something to this Deponent; and in That Posture he Stood a small Time, but Immediately went his Way, Not Speaking to this Deponent; and after That time He this Deponent never saw him Alive.

There will need no Hand in the Margent here, to bespeak a Note upon the Disorder This Unhappy Gentleman was in upon his Last Farewel to his House and Family: But I could wish the Clerk had been Call'd upon (who is since Dead) to Explain himself upon the Last Words of This Paragraph; where he says, that [After that Time he never saw his Muster [Alive.] And

And why not as well that he never saw him after, till he saw the Body at the White-house, or in Hartshorn-Lane, when it was brought home? as that [afterward he never saw him ALIVE. The Strefs lyes upon the Word [ALIVE;] for Moor acknowledged upon the Examination above, that he had been to look for his Master about Primrose-Hill upon the Enformation of one Parsons, a Coach-maker, who told him that upon Saturday Morning, Sir Edmund Asked him the way thither; Moor Declaring further, [That he was looking for him within a little from the Place where the Body was found.] Now Considering the Distraction that Moor, and the Rest of the Family were in, upon his First going away; and taking Moor's Expression along with it, that he had been Looking for him about Those Fields; It must be Naturally Understood, that he looked for him in Ditches, and Retired Places; unless he should think to find him a Grazing among the Cows, or the Sheep; a Day, Two, or Three after he was Missing: So that in All Likelyhood Moor found the Body in the very Ditch, and Covers the Concealment under the Disguise of Not having seen him ALIVE. I lay no Strefs upon This; but it may, or it may not be, and no great matter which.

There are Two Enformations of Mr. Cooper, and Mrs. Leeson, that speak to his Ill Humour of That Morning.

Richard Cooper Deposeth, That He this Enformant well remembreth Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he met him in St. Martins Lane, going toward Newstreet, betwixt That and the Crown and Scepter; and that This Enformant saluted him by his Name; and the Said Sir Edmund returning the Civility to this Enformant, saying, Good Morrow, Mr. Cooper. This Enformant's Sister being in Company with him, and one James Lowen, Keeper of Hatfield Park. This was about Eight a Clock in the

the Morning ; but this Enformant cannot Positively speak to the Certain Day ; only he saith, that he this Enformant did hear the day following, that the said Sir Edmund was Missing, and did not come in All Night.

And saith, That to the best of this Enformants Memory, the said Sir Edmund was in Black Cloths, Stockings, and Hat, and that he walked with his Cane Dangling before him, and that the said Sir Edmund, having been formerly us'd to speak Freely, and Pleasantly to this Enformant upon all Occasions, this Enformant's Sister took notice of his Change of Humour, and that he spake Melancholy, and Discontented.

Mary Leeson Deposeth, That about Eight a Clock in the Morning (to the best of this Enformants Memory) when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first missing from his House, as this Enformant heard it reported : This Enformant being in Company with Mr. Richard Cooper, and one Lowen, met the said Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane ; He going up toward New-street, and this Enformant going toward the Strand. This Enformant telling the said Mr. Cooper, There comes Justice Godfrey ; The said Mr. Cooper Answering, So he does ; and Mr. Cooper, when he came up to him, saluting him saying, Good Morrow Sir Edmund ; the said Sir Edmund replying in a Grave, Formal Way, Good Morrow Mr. Cooper : which gave this Enformant Occasion to say, The Justice is Melancholy. Mr. Cooper replying, No, He is Studying.

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe speaks to the Same Point also, and his Wife agrees with him in the same Thought, upon the Humour they observ'd him to be in, about One of the Clock the same Saturday. See the Enformation at Large, cap. 18.

I have *Three Other Depositions* that speak to the *same Day*, and to the *same Purpose*; and with them I shall *Conclude This Chapter*.

Thomas Snell Deposeth, That *He this Enformant* had no *Personal Knowledge* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; but that *Living in Holborn*, over against *Turn-Style*, he hath seen a *Person* often passing by his *House* into the *Red-Lyon-Fields*, and hath been told *Several Times* (but by whom this *Enformant* doth not remember) that the said *Person* was *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*.

He saith further, That upon the *Day* (as he Remembreth and Believeth) whereon *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was first missing, he saw (about *Noon* as he remembreth) the same *Person* (as he verily believeth) which he had formerly been told was *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, pass by the *House* of This *Enformant*, into *Red-Lyon-Fields*.

And further, That hearing afterward that the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was found, This *Enformant* Reflected upon the *Person* that he had seen as above-said; and upon the *Melancholique Appearance* of him, as he pass'd by This *Enformants House* at the *Time* aforesaid.

Thomas Bundy Deposeth, That *He This Enformant* walking out towards *Hampstead*, in *Company* with *Mr. Huyfman* a *Painter*, upon the *Saturday* when *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was first missing; being (to the best of This *Enformants Memory*) the *12th* of *October*, 1678. *He This Enformant* about *Two or Three* in the *Afternoon* of the *Day* aforesaid, (as he remembreth) Seeing a *Tall Person* walking alone, towards the *White-House* near *Primrose-Hill*, *He this Enformant* said to *Mr. Huyfman*, there goes *Dr. Barwick*; But this *Enformant* observing him further, told the said *Mr. Huyfman*, that it was not *Dr. Barwick*: but wondring a little

with himself, to see a Person alone thereabouts, This Enformant having often taken that Walk, but very rarely seeing any Body thereabouts before: This Enformant followed him in the same way, at the matter of Twenty Yards distance, for near a Quarter of a Mile; and observed, that his Stockings were a kind of a Rusty Black, and his Shoes seemed to be Old, and his Coat of a Dark-Colour'd Mixed Chamblet (as this Enformant Remembreth.)

And further, That this Enformant going to take the same Walk some Days after, and going by So-ho, this Enformant was there told the First News he had heard of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, being found Murther'd upon Primrose-Hill. Upon which, this Enformant reflected on the Person that he had taken upon the Saturday for Dr. Barwick, and concluded within himself, that the Person whom he first took for Dr. Barwick, was Sir E. Godfrey. This Enformant knowing Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and remembering that he had seen him in such a Colour'd Coat; which Struck this Enformant with an Apprehension as he Declar'd to Several Others, that the said Sir Edmund had laid Violent Hands upon Himself.

James Huxlinan Deposeth, That he this Enformant hearing that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, at, or near Primrose Hill; and that the said Sir Edmund had been missing ever since the Saturday before; This Enformant reflected upon it, that he had seen a Person in a very Melancholique Posture, and way of Walking, near the said Place, upon the Day when Sir Edmund was reported to have been first missing; And (as this Enformant remembreth) it was betwixt Two and Three that Afternoon. He was a Tall, slender Man, in a Black or Dark Coat, which this Enformant took to be Chamblet; This Enformant wondering within himself to see a Person of his Appearance walking in so Lonesom a Place.

And

And faith, *That this Enformant speaking with one Mr. Grundy, after the Body was found, about the said Sir Edmund, the said Mr. Grundy having been with this Enformant at the Time when they saw the said Person that is above described; He the said Mr. Grundy, and This Enformant, Comparing the Person of the Man with the Circumstances of the Day, the Place, and the Appearing Sadness in the said Persons Gate and Motion, did Joynly Agree in an Apprehension, that the Person above Described, and whom they had seen Together as afore said, was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. And that this Enformant going afterward to the White-house, Asked the Woman of the House, Whether Sir Edmunds Body had been brought Thither, and if any Bloud came from it; the said Woman Answer'd This Enformant, that it was Laid there upon the Table, and that the Bloud Dreynd from the Body into the Cellar; and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body, to the Best of This Enformants Memory.*

C H A P. III.

What Notice was taken of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Melancholy before he went away from his House; And what Opinion, or Apprehension People had Concerning it.

THis Topique is the very Hinge of the Main Question. There's a Great deal to be said upon't; And I shall rather Adventure to be thought Tediou, then to fall short in any thing that's very Particular, and very Material; for it is not with such a Tryal as This, in a Book, as it is with a Tryal at Bar in a Court

Court of Justice ; Where All that's over and above a Legal Competency of Witnesses for Probity, and for Number, is Burdensome and Superfluous, and only so much Money, or Time thrown away. Now I am not in This Place to contend with Rules, and Forms of Law and Equity ; but Common Fame sits Judge of the Controversie, while Reason is to be Try'd by Noise, and Prejudice. So that I must, both in Necessity, and in Discretion, make use of All Honest Aids to my Advantage, though I prove the same thing over and over again, by Twenty several Hands, in as many several Ways ; and so, as to leave no Place for Prepossession : For when Men of All Sorts and Conditions ; Men of Several Qualities and Persuasions ; And Men of Credit, in fine, of what Judgment soever ; When All These, I say, shall agree, as with One Voice, to the Truth of what I deliver ; I have no more to Ask, but the Readers Patience for a Candid Report of the Fact ; and Every Man then is at Liberty to make his Own Inference : We shall now Begin our Remarques upon the Eve to That Fatal Saturday before mentioned.

Mr. Richard Wheeler of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That upon Friday, October 11. 1678. being at a Vestry in St. Martins, Sir E. B. Godfrey, who was commonly the Mouth of the Bord, sate Leaning, with his Face upon his Hand, without a Word speaking, saving that he once Lifted up his Head, and Uttered These, or the like Words [That will not do.] Captain Bridal being there present : That the Company Adjourn'd from thence to a Tavern, where, upon Discourse of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, it was Agreed, that he Was not, or had not been Well ; his Countenance, and Behaviour being very much Alter'd.

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe gives an Account of a *Mour* of his at Mr. Weldens in York-Buildings, That very Night after the rising of the Vestry. See it at large, Cap. 18.

Mr. Edward Birthy Deposeth, That about Four or Five in the Afternoon of the Friday Next before the Saturday that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing. This Enformant, with his Wife, and Another Person since Dead, going to Cross the Street from the Red-Lyon-Inn in Drury-Lane, saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey walking down Drury-Lane to the Strandward, Close by the side of the Kennel, looking still upon the Ground, seeming to be Extremely Pensive, and Melancholique.

And that as This Enformant was just about to Pass the Kennel, He this Enformant with his Company stopt, till Sir Edmund might go by, who happened to be Passing, just at That Place; this Enformant saluting him with his Hat; as being very well known to him: Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund made a very strange, and a sudden Pause, Setting one Foot forward with a stamp, Catching hold of the Brims of his Hat, as if he were to look at something, and star'd this Enformant in the Face a while, without a Word speaking: This Enformant and the Company Passing by him while he stood in this Posture, and so continued a little while after; This Enformant observing the said Sir Edmund to continue his Course by the side of the Kennel, 'till This Enformant and his Company went out of the Lane into a Little Alley, a good Way from thence. This Enformant telling his Company thereupon, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; This looks strangely; Pray God Bless him, or to that Effect. This Enformant being at that Time much Troubled to see him in
such

such a Disorder; and the Company at That Time making the same Reflexion upon it.

Mary Gibbons, Junior, Deposeth, That Judith Pamphlin (who lived in the House with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey) told this Enformant, that Sir Edmund was the most Melancholique, Alter'd Man of Late that could be; and how upon the Day before he was Missing, he brought down, in a Great Discontent, as many Papers as she thought would fill her Apron, and threw them into the Fire.

Mrs. Gibbons, the Mother, saith also, That Mrs. Pamphlin told her, that Sir Edmund had been so very Discontented, and out of his Ordinary Temper of Late, that he Quarrel'd with his very Band: Saying further, That the said Sir Edmund was in so great a Disorder the Friday Night before he went away, that he Tumbled over his Drawers, and Trunks, and burnt as many Papers as her Apron would hold.

To pass a short Reflexion now upon the Matters above; His Disorder at the Vestry was Manifest; The Wildness of his Discourse, and Actions at Weldens, seem'd to Point Directly at what Follow'd. His Behaviour in Drury-Lane was as Freakish as any of the Rest; and as much Wondred at, by Those that were meer Strangers to him. It must be Somewhat Extraordinary too, the Account that Pamphlin gives of Burning his Papers. And it was as Extravagant Perhaps as any thing else; his odd manner of coming to my Lady Prats That Day, and behaving himself at a rate, to put the whole Company in Amazement. This was the Action of Friday: But now to look further back a little.

Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth, That having many Occasions of Bus'ness with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, as well at the Enformants House at Cranbrook in Essex, as at the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in Harts-horn-Lane in the Strand : He this Enformant took Notice many Times that Sir Edmund was very much Disorder'd and Troubled in his Mind ; and particularly, some Two or Three Days before this last Appointment, (i. e. of Dining together that Saturday.) Inſomuch, that this Enformant did often Reason the Matter with the ſaid Sir Edmund ; and uſe all the Means, and Arguments he could, to remove that Extreme Sadneſs, and Melancholy that he Labour'd Under. The ſaid Sir Edmund ſtill perſiſting in That Diſconſolate Temper of Mind ; and often expreſſing the Deep Senſe he had of the Unhappineſs of his Condition, and that he had not Long to Live.

Captain Thomas Gibbon Deposeth, that about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, upon the Thursday before Sir E. B. Godfrey left his Houſe, the ſaid Sir Edmund having ſent for the Wife of this Enformant, who could not at that Time leave her ſick Mother : He this Enformant went into Harts-horn-Lane, to the ſaid Sir Edmund, whom he found by his Dreſs, Looks, and Actions, to be in great Diſorder. And this Enformant finding his Company Uneaſie to the ſaid Sir Edmund, ſoon took his Leave, and returning home to his Wife, he this Enformant told her his Thoughts of Sir Edmund ; Expreſſing Great Trouble for his Condition, the ſaid Sir Edmund being This Enformants Particular Friend.

Mary Gibbons, the Daughter of the Captain above-nam'd, Deposeth, That ſome Few Days before Sir Edmund was Miſſing, the Father of This Enformant told her, that he had been to Viſit Sir Edmundbury Godfrey,

and that he found him in so great Disorder, that he was affraid he would make some Attempt upon himself, as his Father had done.

Mary, the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbons, Depo-
seth as above, and tells of a Remarkable Extravagance
of Sir Godfrey, at her House the Tuesday was Senight
before he went away, of which we shall speak more
particularly in the Last Chapter of This Book.

CH A P. IV.

*What Opinion or Apprehension had Sir Edmund-
bury Godfrey Himself of his Melancholy before
he went away? And what was it that made him
use That Expression so often, I shall be the First
Martyr ; Or, I shall not Live Long.*

Mary Gibbon, Senior, Depo-
seth, That she observed
Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very Sad and Pensive,
some time before his Death ; and that the said Sir Edmund
hath lamented his Condition to this Enformant, saying, [Oh !
Cozen, I do inherit my Fathers Deep Melancholy :
I cannot get it off. I have taken away a great many
Ounces of Bloud, but I cannot get the Victory. These
Words, or Words to this effect, the said Sir Edmund hath
spoken very many times, saying, I am best Alone ; I can-
not get off This Melancholy ; and the Like Expres-
sions.

And says, that not long before his Death, he being Ill,
sent for her to make him some Jelly, and that a Day or Two
after, she going to Visit him, she found him drinking Whey
with Brown Bread in it ; and then she said to him, Sir,

I make Jelly for you one Day, and you Drink Whey another. Oh Cozen (saith he) throwing the Pot one way, and the Spoon Another) My Fathers Dark Melancholy hath Seized me; It is Hereditary, and I cannot get it out of me.

Mary Eibbons the Younger Deposeth, That this Enformant hath heard Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, not long before his Death, say, that He Inherited his Fathers Melancholy, and that he had been let Bloud, but it did him no Good.

William Church of the Inner Temple, Gent. Deposeth, That this Enformant was very well acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for many Years before he Dy'd. And that the said Sir Edmund coming often to Richmond, had Lodgings there within Four or Five Doors of the House of this Enformant; where this Enformant observ'd him to walk much Alone, and to Shun the Company of the Gentry thereabouts: And this Enformant taking Notice that the said Sir Edmund did usually exercise himself upon the Bowling-Green with Ordinary Company; sometimes with Mr. Goston's Footman; at other Times, with the Man that helps to Roll, and Make the Ground: And this Enformant meeting him, did ask him the Reason, Why he did not afford this Enformant, and the Gentry of the Town his Conversation, but kept Company with Footmen and Ordinary Fellows, which were a Scandal to him. To which the said Sir Edmund Reply'd, That Company was very Irsom to him; That he Bowl'd and Exercis'd with those mean People, that he might run up and down, and do what he would, to divert Melancholy, for he was so Overpower'd with Melancholy, that his Life was very Uneasie and Burdensom to him.

The Substance of the Enformation above, hath run much in the Mind of this Enformant, and he hath upon several Occasions, and for several Years past, in Publique Places

made

made the same Observations; and spoke to the same effect, of what he here Delivers. These Expressions of the said Sir Edmund (to the Best of this Enformants Memory) were about a Year before he Dy'd.

I shall Force Nothing beyond the *Genuine Signification* and *Import* of Words, and *Actions*, in the *Simplicity* of their *Meaning*. Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was too well acquainted with the *Dismal State* and *Effects* of his *Fathers Melancholy*, to lay such an *Emphasis* upon his *Own*, as still to call it *Hereditary*; and at the same time, not to have *Other Apprehensions* about him then the *Fear* of being *Murther'd* by the *Papists*. There were *No Tongues*, nor *Ores's* in his *Fathers Days*; *No Whole-sale Narrative* men to deal for *Treason* by the *Gross*; and yet so often as he found himself in any *Extraordinary Distress*, and *Anguish of Thought*, it was still his *Fathers Melancholy*, that he *Inherited*; That *Dark Melancholy*, as he calls it; and nothing but the *Instance* of his *Fathers Melancholy* would serve him for the *Illustration* of his *Own*. This was sure a very *Unhappy President*, for him to Copy out the *Resemblance* of his *Own Distemper* by; for I find it *Asserted upon Oath*, by Mrs. Gibbon (and No Body knew the Family Better) that the *Father* of This *Miserable Gentleman* (though otherwise a very *Good Man*) was so *Overcome* with *Melancholy*, that he attempted several Times to *kill Himself*; that he had seen him *Bound in his Bed*; and that in *One Fit* of *Distraction*, he *wounded three of his Children*, almost mortally, with a *Cleaver*. This, in Substance, is *Confirm'd* by many Others; And I could carry it further, but it is a *Calamity* to be *Compassionated*; and even This alone would have been too much, if the *Necessity* of the *Case* and of the *Argument* had not *Required* it. He says, He was *affraid* of his *Fathers Melancholy*; and this is only to shew what kind of *Melancholy* it was that he was

affraid of. *Harry Moor*, the *Clark*, speaks of the *Father* to the same effect.

To bring my Matters Now a little Nearer, If it be True, that *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* Dy'd a violent Death; and Certain, that He was Kill'd, either by Some body else, or by Himself; If No Animosity Private, or Publique, appear'd to make it either a Personal Act, or the Malice of a Conspiracy: Nay, and that the Gentleman was Manifestly a Friend to That Party, which the Faction would perswade the World he had so much reason to be afraid of; it will be as hard to Believe at Last, that This Gentleman Dy'd by the Hands of Papists, as that he Dy'd the *Somerset-House Way*; which is as Impossible to be True, as that Fire and Water should Joyn in one and the same Body, to Drown and Burn the World, Both at Once.

I shall Leave it now to the Reader to Consider, that if he did not Dye by Other Hands, he Dy'd by his Own; and if there was No Likelyhood at all, of his being Cut off by the Papists, whether there was any Ground or Not, to fear he might be Destroy'd by his Melancholy Or in fine; Since of Necessity it must be One of the Two; Whether of the Two was yet the more Probable.

But People are still at a Loss, they say, how to bring him off from That Ordinary Ejaculation of his, that upon all Discourses of his Uneasiness, and Trouble of Mind, was still the Burthen of the Song. Mr. Robinson (afterward Sir Thomas) gave Evidence [as I have Noted] at *Greens Tryal*, of a Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and of Sir Edmunds speaking These Words to him: [Upon my Conscience I believe I shall be the first Martyr, Tryal, pa. 14.] In short, Mr. Wynnel, Captain Gibbons; his Wife; and Daughter, Coll. Welden, (and indeed who Not) have heard him speak Many and Many a Time to the same Effect. Now 'tis a Strange Thing, if he reckon'd him-

himself in Danger from the *Papists*, that he should never so much as Mention This but to *Otes*; Whose very Oath in the *Affirmative*; Blasts the Credit of the thing he Swore to: Especially, as it was Hook'd in to serve the Turn of his Plot. A man might very well Content himself, after what is said Allready upon the Ambiguity of This Expression, and the Weakness of laying more Weight upon't then 'twould bear; to Pass over the Question without any more ado. But yet though it may seem a Thing Wholly Frivolous, to Reason upon, there is somewhat in it however, upon the Point of Curiosity, that may Deserve a Place in This Account of Things, though but for Common Satisfaction.

Upon taking *Tongs* and *Otes's* Depositions, upon Sept. 28. 1678. (though very Unwillingly, as appears over and over Already) Sir Godfrey reflected upon it, that he had made No Formal Discovery of the Pretended Treason; and finding now that the Bus'ness was come to be Publique: the Matter being then brought before the Council, he came to be Every day more and more Sensible of the Danger of the Misprision, and not without Several Hints, by the By, that he was like to be call'd to an Account for't, There being near a Month Past, from his First Enformation, Sept. 6. without any Regular, or Effectual Notification of the Matter: And he was the More Frighten'd upon it, for the Dis-service that he did to the Design of making a Plot on't: for he never Believ'd one Word of the Story; and told All People as much, where he thought he might Safely Declare Himself. So that the Martyrdom he fear'd, was the being made a Sacrifice to the Faction. He was Sufficiently Sensible how Greedily the Multitude swallow'd This Bait of a Plot; what Labour was us'd to make a Parliament Cause on't: And how Heartily Dispos'd the Majority, even of That Parliament, were, to En-

Entertain All Colourable Suggestions, under so Popular a Pretence. It must be added now, that This Terrible Parliament it Self was to meet upon the 21th of That October: So that Sir Edmund had but a Matter of Three Weeks Time to Consider on't. There was an Unlucky Circumstance More too, in the Kings going to New-market upon the Second of That October; When the Faction had Effectually the Shuffling, Cutting, and Dealing of their own Game; and All things working toward a Common Ruine. There never was a Concurrence of more Critical, and Mortal Accidents toward the Ruine of One Poor Justice of Peace, then met upon This Single Occasion; Adding to All the Rest an Hereditary, and an Inseparable Melancholy to Work upon; a Melancholy that he Complain'd of long before These Depositions came into the World; as is Set forth already in the Depositions of Mr. Church: But upon the Whole Matter, however, the Last day of his Life was the 12th of October: The 15th Day from the bringing of the Plot before the King and Council; and the 9th from the Meeting of the Parliament.

This was the Pinch of his Condition; His Case lay Open to the Worst of Constructions, and he was Morally Sure that his Enemies would make the most of any Advantage against him. The Man was No Fool; and his Head as well as his Humour, lay for Practice and Business: And who knows if he had Liv'd 'till the Meeting of the Parliament, Whether he should not have been brought in as a Party to the Conspiracy, rather then for a Bare Misprision? For his Royal Highness was made the *Causa sine qua non*, of the Plot it Self; and the Communicating of These Enformations to the Duke of York, would never have been Forgiven him. To Conclude, if he had Surviv'd, he should, in All Likelyhood, have Suffer'd the Law as a Papish Traytor; Whereas, by This Intervening Disappointment,

ment, he has pass'd now these several years, for a Protestant Martyr: So that in Truth, the Parliament were the Papists that He Fear'd; which agrees with an Enformation above-mentioned of Mrs. Gibbon, Deliver'd upon Oath, to a Secretary of State, long before ever I saw the Face of her. See the Particulars of This Relation, Cap. 20.

Mr. Wynnell Deposes as Follows; That going toward Mr. Goodwins (a Councillor at Law) with Sir E. B. Godfrey, about the Time of the Lords Commitment to the Tower; The Enformant was telling Sir Edmund, that the Lords could not be such Fools as to Think of such a Thing; or What Power had the Pope, in such or Such a Case? Sir Edmund Replying, No; He has None: The Lords are as Innocent as You or I: Coleman will Dye; but not the Lords. To which This Enformant said, If so, Where are we then? Sir Edmund Replying, Otes is Sworn, and is Perjur'd. This Enformant bad him then Speak the Truth, and tell the Meaning on't. [Why (says Sir Edmund) Consults about a Toleration; Nothing against the King; but there is a Design upon the Duke of York; and This will come to a Dispute among them. You may Live to see an End on't, but I shall not.

Mr. Wynnell says further; That upon his asking Sir E. B. Godfrey some time why he was so Melancholy; his Answer has been, that he was Master of a Dangerous Secret, that would be Fatal to him: That his Security was Otes's Deposition, that he the said Otes had first Declar'd it to a Publique Minister: And 2ly. That he came to Sir Edmund by His Direction.

I could add More Instances, but This is a Redundance purely Superogatory; for the Case is Clear without it.

C H A P. V.

What did Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Friends, Relations, Servants and Acquaintance think was become of him, from the time of his going away, to the Time when the Body was found?

Richard Adams Senior of Lincolns Inne, Esquire, Deposeth; Octob. 4. 1684. That upon the Saturday Morning, betwixt Six and Seven, being the Day (as he conceives) Whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first Missing; He This Enformant went to the House of the said Sir Edmund, and Enquiring for him, received Answer, from some of the House, that he was gone abroad Early in the Morning: and so This Enformant went from Thence to Westminster, from whence he Return'd, and call'd at the House of the said Sir Edmund toward Eleven the same Day, and Enquiring for Sir Edmund again, the People of the House seem'd to be in Great Consternation; which gave Occasion to This Enformant to Enquire what the Matter was, receiving for Answer, that they had Cause to fear that he was made away.

Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth; that having been Intimately acquainted with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Sir Edmund made a proposal to This Enformant (as on the behalf of a Friend) for the buying of some houses of this Enformants in Brewers Yard: And they proceeded so far upon the Agreement, that they applyed themselves, by Consent, to Mr. Goodwin a Councillor at Law, then living near the Temple-Gate, to draw up the Conveyance between them: and appointed to Dine together at one Collonel Welden's in York-Buildings, on the Saturday

turday the 12. of October 1678. To the best of This Enformants Memory; Intending, after Dinner, to go to Council together to finish the Writings.

This Enformant saith further, that coming to the Place and not finding Sir Edmundbury Godfrey there, he desired Collonel Welden to send his Servant to his house for him; it being then past Twelve a Clock at Noon. The Servant went to call the said Sir Edmund, and brought word back that he was not at home: After which, this Enformant staid for some time Expecting him; and then told Welden that he would go himself to his house, Whether this Enformant went accordingly.

And saith further, that he This Enformant coming towards the Door of the house, saw the Maid-Servant of the House (an Elderly Tall Person) Leaning upon the Rail without the Door: and the Man-Servant (which he took to be his Clerk, and his Name, Moor) Leaning against the Door-Post: And both of them appearing to This Enformant sad, and surpriz'd.

This Enformant did then Demand of them where their Master was; or whether he was at home or No? To which they, or one of them made Answer, that he was gone out about two hours before; This Enformant asking them whether he was gone, it was Answered, that they could not tell: Whereupon, This Enformant said to them, Your Master Promised to Dine with me to Day at Collonel Welden's, Will he not be There, think Ye? To which the Man replied, Truly he could not tell. Upon This the Enformant bad the Servant tell his Master when he came in, that he was gone to Collonel Welden's, and Expected him There, according to his appointment. To which the Man Answered, Ay Sir, when I see him, so I will. There appear'd to This Deponent so much Disorder in their Countenances; Their Manner of speaking, and their Behaviour, that it made an Impression of Heaviness upon him.

Here-

Hereupon the Enformant went his way, and in less then an hour return'd to Welden's, and told him he could not find him, and they had best go to Dinner; for they said he was gone out, and No body knew where he was.

Sir Edmund's Clerk remembers Mr. Wynel's Enquiring for his Master, as above.

Mr. Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That He This Enformant hath often heard Mr. Thomas Wynell speak of the very Great Melancholy, and Disorder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey for some short time before he left his House; and particularly, that upon the very Morning that Sir Edmund went away, Mr. Wynell calling at his House, saw a Servant, or Servants of the said Family, in a very sad, and Disconsolate Appearance, at the said Sir Edmund's Door, which gave Mr. Wynell an Apprehension, as if some Great Mischief had Befall'n the said Sir Edmund.

Mary Gibbon the Elder Deposeth, That upon the Sunday, the Day after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, and Weeping, asked her where Sir Edmund was.

Upon Monday (the Day following) the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund came to This Enformant's House, and Enquired for their Brother; telling her, that he din'd with her the Day before, and lay there all Night. Mr. Michael Godfrey saying, I am sure he is here; This Enformant Declaring that he was Not; and why should she deny it, if it were Otherwise? The Brother hereupon ask'd This Enformant when she saw him, and what Discourse they had? so This Enformant told them of his Locking himself up, and of his Discourse; and how much he was out of Humour: Upon the Hearing whereof, Mr. Michael fell to stamping, and Crying-out, O Lord! We are Ruin'd, What shall we do? The Brother

Brother Benjamin lifting up his eyes; Wringing his Hands; and breaking out into Exclamations: What will become of us! This Enformant asked them then what the Matter was! they said [Nothing.] But they said he was not at Church, and so they thought he might have been with Her, telling This Enformant also that she should hear More.

Henry Moor Deposeth, That his Master not coming home That Saturday Night, he went Early the Next day, being Sunday Morning, to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, to acquaint him with his Masters Absence; whereupon the said Mr. Godfrey brake out into This Expression: [God have Mercy upon us; I pray God we hear good News of him.]

Let any Man Consider now, upon what Apprehension it was that the Brothers should be so Transported upon the Story of This Extravagance of the said Sir Edmund. It will not be said, I hope, that This Wild Behaviour of his was a Symptom of any Danger he lay in from the Papists.

Mary Gibbon Junior Deposeth, That some Day betwixt Sir Edmund's Leaving his House, and the finding of the Body, she This Enformant saw the Two Brothers of Sir Edmund come into her Fathers House; but she did not hear their Discourse: only This Enformants Mother told her afterwards, that upon some Discourse with them of the Strange Behaviour of their Brother a Matter of Ten Days before, they brake out into Exclamations, Crying out, they were Ruin'd; What should they do! VVhat would become of them!

Mary Gibbon Senior further Deposeth, That on Tuesday Morning, the Enformant came to the House of Sir Edmund

Edmund, where she found Mrs. Pamphlin Crying, and saying, We shall never see Sir Edmund More: And asking her what was become of him, she said, she durst not trust her.

And further saith, That about a Fortnight after the Burial of Sir Edmund's Body, Mrs. Pamphlin came to This Enformant, saying, It is a very sad thing that I should not be examin'd about the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: This Enformant telling her, the said Pamphlin; If you do know how he came by his Death, and do not discover it, you will be Damn'd to All Eternity: The said Pamphlin replying to this Effect; If his Clerk and I were Examined upon Oath, we could say a Great Deal, which I will not do Voluntarily; but if I be put to my Oath, I will speak what I know. The Clerk knows more then you can Imagin, This Enformant wrote down some Notes of what Mrs. Pamphlin said, which were Deliver'd (as this Enformant believeth) either to the Lords Committees, or to the Earl of Shaftsbury. This Enformant well Remembreth, that Mr. Pamphlin took Notice to her of Sir Edmund's being much out of Order some Weeks before his Death.

Captain Thomas Cihon Deposeth, That upon the Munday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went away, he went to Collonel Weldens, and asked him what he thought of Sir Edmund? Whose Answer was, I Dare not tell you my Thoughts; for I have observ'd him to be much out of his Ordinary Temper, ever since his Examination of Otes: This Enformant telling his Wife, what he had heard, at his Return.

This Enformant went the Day Following, to Sir Edmund's to know what News; where Mrs. Pamphlin said, that She could not tell him, but bad him go into the Kitchen, where the Clerk was, and he would tell him more.

Mary

Mary Gibbon Junior, Deposeth, That after Sir Edmunds Dead Body was found, and that in the Time betwixt the Burial of the said Sir Edmund, and the coming in of Bedloe, and Prance; and before any News of a Discovery how he came by his Death; the said Pamphlin, came to the House of This Enformants Father, and was saying, How strange a Thing it was that she should not be examin'd; For I was warn'd (said she) as well as Moor, and Curtis, and they were examin'd; and I was not: Pamphlin telling her this Enformant, that they were not willing she should appear; Meaning, as this Enformant understood her, the Relations of Sir Edmund; but the said Pamphlin told this Enformant, that upon a Second Warning, they agreed that she should Appear; but bad her speak sparingly; and telling her, that she might safely swear, That the Papists had Murther'd him. This Enformant was at that Time waiting upon her Grandmother in her Death-Sickness, who after the Departure of the said Pamphlin, spake to the Enformant to this effect, [Mrs. Pamphlin has made such a Discourse here, that I think you are bound in Conscience to enform a Magistrate of it; for I am Confident Sir Edmund kill'd Himself.] This Enformant Inclining also to have some Justice of the Peace acquainted with it.

And this Enformant well remembreth, that the said Pamphlin asked her, [If Sir Edmund has Murther'd himself, d'ye think he is damn'd] which she this Enformant much wondered at; there being no occasion given for such a Question: So that this Enformant asked the said Pamphlin thereupon, Why d'ye say these Things to me? You frighten me; If you know any thing your self, you ought to discover it to the Next Magistrate. To which the said Pamphlin made Answer, Let Old Moor be examin'd with me, and I'll say what I know; for

I have no reason to run my self voluntarily into an Inconveniency : for you know I have a Dependency upon the Brothers, (*which this Enformant understood to be a Pension*) and I am loth to Anger them : But if I be compell'd, I'll speak what I know. *This Enformant telling her again, That if she knew any thing, she might be examin'd in such a manner, as it might appear a Force upon her : For there was a Severity or a Persecution that lay heavy upon a Suffering People ; and she did not know what Inconveniences might follow upon it.*

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That soon after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's withdrawing from his House, the Enformant heard the Wife of Sir Edmund's Clerk say, Oh ! That ever it should be said that such a Man as Sir Edmund should Murther Himself ! This being spoken some Days before the Dead Body was found.

William Fall, Gent. Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, and to the best of this Enformants Memory, before the Dead Body of the said Sir Edmund was found ; the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Merchants in London, came several times to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham's House in Queenstreet, to speak with his Lordship.

And saith further, That the Enformant enquiring of his said Brothers, what was become of Sir Edmund ? He this Enformant apprehended by their Discourse ; that they were in some Apprehension that he had made himself away.

To say Nothing of Mr. Grundy, Mr. Huxman, Mr. Birtby, and Mr. Snells Reflexions, as appears, expressly in their Enformations so soon as ever they heard the

the Body was found, upon the *Melancholique Walk* and Actions of the Persons, the last Time they saw him.

C H A P. VI.

What Endeavours were Used to lay the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey upon the Papists.

THEY began early to lay the Foundation of this *Imposture*, by dealing it up and down among the People, that somewhere or other *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* was *Murther'd* by the *Papists*: But sometime it was at *One House*, sometime at *Another*; and they were as much *Puzled* at *First*, with the *Shifting* of the *Story* from *This Place* to *That*, as *Bedloe* and *Prance* were afterward, with the *Removing* of the *Body*; but there was no *Confidence*, or *Industry* wanting however toward *Preparing* the *Multritude* to swallow the *Cheat*: As will appear by the *Following Enformations*.

Mr. Thomas Wynnell Deposeth, That enquiring of *Mr. Welden* for *Sir E. B. Godfrey*, on *Saturday*, early *Afternoon*, when *Sir Edmund* was first *Missing*; *Mr. Welden* looking this *Enformant* in the *Face*, said to him, to this effect; Ah! *Mr. Wynnell*! You will never see him more. This *Enformant* hereupon demanded of him, What Ground he had to say so? Adding withal, to this effect, You and I know very well that 'tis a common thing for the said *Sir Edmund* to go out in a *Morning* so soon as his *Justice Bus'ness* is over, and not come home till *Night*; and no *Apprehension* all this while of any hurt to befall him. Why should you be so suspicious then of any *Ill*, for *Two Hours Absence*, and at this time of the day? Unto which the said *Welden* made

I have no reason to run my self voluntarily into an Inconveniency : for you know I have a Dependency upon the Brothers, (*which this Enformant understood to be a Pension*) and I am loth to Anger them : But if I be compell'd, I'll speak what I know. *This Enformant telling her again, That if she knew any thing, she might be examin'd in such a manner, as it might appear a Force upon her : For there was a Severity or a Persecution that lay heavy upon a Suffering People ; and she did not know what Inconveniences might follow upon it.*

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And saith further, *That the Enformant enquiring of his said Brothers, what was become of Sir Edmund? This Enformant apprehended by their Discourse ; that they were in some Apprehension that he had made himself away.*

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Answer to this Purpose ; To tell you the Truth, (says Mr. Welden) His Brothers have been with me, and are just now gone : And they say the Papists have been watching for him a long time, and that now they are very confident they have got him ; to which this Enformant objected, to this effect, Why should the Papists do Him any Hurt ? He was never observ'd to be an Enemy to them ; the said VVelden Persisting in the same Opinion as before.

This Enformant saith moreover, That laying the Circumstances together, of the Servants appearing at the Door, as if all were not well in the House ; The Discourse of the said VVelden to this Enformant ; and a Remarkable Sadness which this Enformant observed upon the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Two or Three Days before ; he this Enformant was struck with an extraordinary Apprehension of some Fatal Disaster upon him.

This Enformant Finally saith, that he hath often Discoursed all the Particulars in This Paper mentioned, relating to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, from Time to Time, in several Companies.

Mr. Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That this Enformant well remembreth, that Sir E. B. Godfrey and Mr. Wynell were by Appointment to Dine together That Saturday, when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was said to be first Missing. And saith, That in an Afternoon about Two or Three of the Clock, this Enformant met Mr. VVynell not far from Green-Lane, in the Strand, who said to this Enformant, to this effect. What have your People done with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey ? The Town says you have Murther'd him : To which this Enformant Answered something with Admiration, That he knew not what he meant. To which Mr. Wynell Replyed, That he had been at Sir E. B. Godfrey's House, and at

Collonel Weldens, where they were to have Din'd ; and that it was a Report, that the News of Sir Edmund's being Murther'd by the Papists, came from his Brothers. This Enformant verily believes, that it was upon That Saturday when Sir Edmund was first Missing, that This Enformant met Mr. VVynell ; the said Mr. VVynell speaking of it as a thing newly told him : And this Enformant having heard nothing of the said Sir Edmund's having Absented himself, till (as above) it was told him by Mr. VVynell.

Richard Adams Deposeth, Pursuant to the Discourse above, That he met the Earl, now Marquis of Powis, at the End of Lombard-street, with whom the Enformant had some Discourse ; and seeing one Mr. Harrison, Nephew to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the other side of the Way ; He this Enformant begg'd my Lords Pardon, to speak a Word to That Gentleman, to enquire concerning the Truth of That Report (Implied some Preceding Discourse of a Report.) Whereupon This Enformant pass'd over to Mr. Harrison, enquiring of him the Truth of the Report concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's being murther'd ; who Replied to this Enformant, That he doubted the Report was too True ; and that he was Murther'd by the Papists : And hereupon this Enformant return'd to the said Earl of Powis, and told him what he heard from the said Mr. Harrison.

Mr. Edward Birthy also Deposeth, That upon the Thursday after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House, this Enformant went out of Town toward Leicester-shire, and came to North-Killworth in the Evening of the Day Following, where this Enformant being in Company with one Mr. Belgrave, and some others, about Nine or Ten at Night ; while they were there together, came a

Letter to Mr. Belgrave, Dated the Day before, to the Best of This Enformants Memory; and was brought by the Harborough Post, to North Killworth, being some Five Mile out of the Post-Road.

Mr. Belgrave read the Contents of the said Letter to the Company, for so much as concern'd an Account of the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; saying Positively, to the Best of this Enformants Memory, That he was Murther'd by Papists. Whereupon, this Enformant reflected upon his having seen him in Drury-Lane, as afore-said, and brake out into an Exclamation to this effect, I pray God he has not Murther'd himself; for h looked upon the Friday before, as if he were really Distracted; This Enformant telling the said Company the Story, as it is above Related. Whereupon Mr. Belgrave observ'd upon it, That if this Enformant had seen him so Lately, and heard Nothing of it before he came out of Town, he Hoped it was not True.

This Enformant saith further, That he wondred at the Letters of Thursday's Post being brought that Night; for he never Remembred any Letters of That Post, in the Ordinary Course, to come to Killworth before Saturday.

And further saith, That this Enformant Travelling Two or Three Hundred Miles up and down the Country, before his Return to London, found the same Intelligence by the same Post in All Places where he came.

And saith also, That the Letter before spoken of, to Mr. Belgrave, to the best of this Enformants Memory, came from a Brother of the said Mr. Belgrave's in London, who liveth at Present (as this Enformant believeth) at Husbards Bosworth in Leicester-shire.

The Reader will observe, I presume, how quick they were in their Intelligence, and what Care was taken to Change the very Course, and Method of the Post, to spread it so much the sooner.

Mr.

Mr. Robert Whitehall Deposeth, That upon the Sunday or Monday Next following the Saturday Whereupon Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was First Missing; being at Georges Coffee-house in Freemans-yard, a Considerable Citizen told him This Enformant upon Discourse, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; and that the Report came from his Brothers, or One of them.

Mary Gibbons the Elder, Deposeth, That a Matter of Two Days after Sir Edmunds Body was found, Two of his Relations, Mrs. H. and Mrs. P. came to This Enformants House, and told her, that he was Certainly Murther'd at the Duke of Norfolks House, for they were all in Mourning; and there was a Mourning Coach met in the Night, with Four Horses coming from Primrose-Hill. Mrs. H. desired This Enformant to speak Favourably of Sir Edmund, saying, that This Enformant knew more of his Mind then any Body, &c.

This Enformant went to Sir Edmunds House in Harts-horn-Lane the Next day, and having seen the Body, Mrs. H. asked This Enformant, If she did not Now Believe that the Papists had Murther'd him? This Enformant told her, That she did not Believe it; for to her This Enformants Knowledg, Sir Edmund had done many kindnesses for some Papists, that had Liv'd with her This Enformant.

Mary Gibbons Junior Deposeth, That upon Talk of This Enformants Mothers coming to an Examination, one Mrs. H. a Relation of Sir Edmunds, desired This Enformant, that if her Mother came to be Examined again, that there might be as little said of Sir Edmund as could be, Whatever she knew: Mrs. H. having said before that Time, in the Hearing of this Enformant, that Sir Edmund

was Murther'd by the Papists; And that they had great Reason to Believe, that he was Murther'd in the Duke of Norfolk's House; for the Duke of Norfolks Mourning Coach with White-Horses, were Seen to come from Primrose-Hill, the Saturday that Sir Edmund was Missing.

And this Enformant waited upon her Mother, to one Mrs. G. the Tuesday before Sir Edmunds Body was found, where Mrs. G. said, that Sir Edmund was Certainly Murther'd by the Papists, They had a Spleen at him, and they had done it.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That a Maid-Servant to a Relation of Sir Edmunds, whose Name was Jane (to this Enformants Best Remembrance) taking Notice that this Enformant was to Attend a Committee, to be Examin'd about the said Sir Edmund, she the said Servant said unto this Enformant, You may safely Swear that the Papists Kill'd him. This Enformant replying, that she would not Swear to more then she knew.

Mr. William Collinson Deposeth, That coming to the Feathers at Charing-Cross, one Sunday Morning in October, 1678. to Drink his Mornings Draught, the Enformant saw several of the Neighbourhood there, and giving them the Time of the Day, asked them what News? To which some of the Company Reply'd, Here's brave News for you Papists: Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went from his House yesterday, and did not come home last Night, &c. And it was in All Peoples Mouths in That Quarter, that he was Murther'd by the Papists at Somerset-House.

Captain Thomas Paulden Deposeth, That being at Mrs. Dukes Coffee-house, next to Northumberland-House about Three or Four a Clock in the Afternoon,

on the Saturday when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was first said to be Missing from his House, there was a Discourse in the said Coffee-House to this Effect, That the said Sir Edmund said when he went out in the Morning, that if he Liv'd, he would be at home again by One a Clock: but not being at that Time heard of, it was believed that he was kill'd by the Papists: This Enformant doth not Remember Who they were that said it, but well Remembreth, that he himself upon that Occasion asked the Company, To what End the Papists should Murder him. To which, it was Reply'd by some of the Company, That it was so Believ'd; This Enformant thereupon Speaking to this Purpose, I am Confident if he be Kill'd, that it is either by Thieves, or he has done it Himself.

And further, That this Enformant being on the Thursday following at Night in the Coffee-house above-said, News was brought up into the Coffee-Room, That Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Body was found; And that there were Two Men on Horse-back Below, that had been at the finding of him: Whereupon, the Company went down into the Street, and this Enformant among the Rest; Serjeant Ramsey being One of the Company: This Enformant then seeing the Two Horsemen above-mentioned at the Door, Asked one of them, if he had found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body: and Where? Who Answered, Yes, at Primrose-Hill. This Enformant asking further, in what Place, and Posture? The said Horse-men making Answer, that they found him in a Ditch, run through with his own Sword, which appear'd a Handfull out of His Back; with his Head downward, and his Heels upward; And (as they said) as if he had fall'n upon his own Sword. There were by this Time Crowds of People got about them, and upon the Horse-man's Speaking the Words Last above-mentioned, there was a Muttering among the People, That These

These are the Rogues that Murther'd him Them- selves, and would make People believe, that he did it himself.

Mr. *White the Coroner*, was held in hand by *Welden* with the same Story of the *Papists*; Nay and with so Particular a Note upon't, that the *Action* was Precisely laid between the *Pall-Mall*, and *Arundel-House*, as shall be shewn by and By. But Once for All; The *Belief* or *Dis-belief* of This Story was at This Time become Effectually the *Test* of a *Protestant*, or a *Papist*; and the *Credit* of it *Promoted* by All ways *Imaginable* By *Re-ports*, and *Post-Letters*, as appears by Mr. *Birtby*: By *Menaces*, *Promises* and *Extreme Cruelties*, as in the Case of *Mrs. Gibbons*, *Walters*, *Bromwell*, *Corall*, *France*: And in one word; *All the Considerable Fayles of England* were *Crouded with Instances of this Kind*.

C H A P. VII.

How Matters were manag'd while Sir E. B. Godfrey was missing, toward the finding out what was become of him.

IT was now Break of Day toward the Opening of a *Parliament*. Sir *Edmund* left his House on the 12th of *October*. The *Body* was found the 17th. and the *Parliament* to *Meet* on the 21th. A *Popish Plot* already a foot, but so *Weakly* and *Scandalously Supported*, that nothing could fall out more *Opportunely* to the *Present Humour*, and *Purpose*, then a *Popish Murther*, or at least a *Popish Something else* to *Second* it. This was the
Reason,

Reason, and the Policy of the Sham; but the Business of the Imposture apart; We are in this Place upon an Enquiry what was done toward the Discovery of the Truth; and we cannot begin better then with the Clerks Narrative upon This Subject.

Henry Moor Deposeth, That his Master not coming home upon Saturday Night, Mr. Michael Godfrey obliged him upon Sunday Morning to keep his Masters Absence very Private, and Secret, and not to Communicate it to any Person, till He and his Brother came to him in the Afternoon: After which, he this Deponent returning home to his said Masters House about Nine of the Clock, and before Morning Service, Mrs. Pamphlin asked this Deponent, Where his Master was? To whom this Deponent replied, That he was got up, and gone abroad Two Hours before; which Answer this Deponent did make, being by the said Mr. Michael Godfrey enjoyn'd Secrecy, as aforesaid. And that on the Same Day, after Evening Service, Mr. Michael Godfrey, and Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to their Brothers House to this Deponent, as Mr. Michael Godfrey had Promis'd; and then they did agree to make Enquiry at all Places where they knew the said Sir E. Godfrey did use to frequent, to make Discovery of him; but wihal, did then likewise Oblige this Deponent to Secrecy: And amongst the Places, where They with This Deponent did make Enquiry, they went to the House of one Captain Gibbons, and did enquire of Mrs. Gibbons for him, as This Deponent believes; for as soon as they came out from Mrs. Gibbons, they told this Deponent that Mrs. Gibbons said he had not been there That Day; and the same Day they went to my Lady Prats, living near Charing Cross, and several other Houses, but could not hear any thing of him, upon which, Both the said Mr. Godfreys commanded him, This Deponent, to keep his Masters Absence Secret, untill the Next Morning, being Monday,

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when they would come to this Deponent again; and so they continued their Search, and Enquiry after his said Master, all That Day, and at Night they return'd home, charging him this Deponent still to keep it Secret. But that Night, after their Departure, he this Deponent hearing of a great Funeral that was to be Next Night, he writ to Mr. Michael Godfrey, to know whether it would not be convenient to have his said Masters Absence Divulg'd abroad amongst that Number of People, which would be there together; to which he return'd for Answer, That he should Divulge it at the Funeral; but the next morning being Tuesday, he was Countermanded by a Messenger from the said Mr. Michael Godfrey, not to Divulge it, till they both had Communicated it to my Lord Chancellor, which after they had done, he this Deponent did make known the Absence of his said Master at the said Funeral.

Here are Five Several Injunctions of Secrecy; And Nothing to be Divulg'd, till the Brothers had been with the Lord Chancellor. Now there may seem to be Another Secret yet, even in the Mystery of This Secrecy; for they were enquiring after him all This while, and the Town Rung on't, that he was Gone; and that the Papists had Murther'd him: So that the Secrecy seems to look rather toward a Concealment of their Opinion what was Become of him, then to the Concealment of his Absence. But it hangs very strangely together, for People to run up and down Enquiring after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and yet not so much as Own that he is Missing. And a Man might as well Suppose the Publishing of a Proclamation, or a Hue and Cry, upon the Caution of making No Words on't, as such an Order given to Enquire up and down after him, upon the same Condition: which looks like a Design, rather of Concealing One thing, then of Discovering Another. But however, as to the Inquisitive Part,

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Heark'ning after him, was a Thing Natural, and Proper to be done; and as much as Could be done upon That Occasion. Mrs. Gibbon speaks to the Same Effect.

Mrs. Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning, as she was going down Stairs from Mrs. Pamphlin, she met Henry Moor, desiring him to tell her the Truth, how Sir Edmund did, and whether he was Alive, or Not? the said Mr. Moor Swearing, that he was as well in Health, as he himself.

It was Order'd, That at the Funeral, this Enformant should be led to Church by the said Sir Edmund's Clark; And This Enformant asked him by the Way, Why he made such Protestations to her, as aforesaid, that Sir Edmund was Alive? Who reply'd, that Sir Edmund's Brothers had commanded him to keep All Things Private, and Charg'd him to say so, to Save the Estate.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon Tuesday Morning after Sir Edmunds Going away, she ask'd Henry Moor what was become of his Master? To which the said Moor reply'd; To tell you the Truth, We are affraid he is Murther'd; and his Brothers have been with the Lord Chancellor, and my Lord Privy Seal, about it, and they are to attend the Council this Morning.

Mr. Aaron Pengry Deposeth, That about the Time of the Prosecution against Mr. Payne, Mr. Farwell, and Thompson, about the Letters pretended to be written to Prance, upon the Account of the Death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, he This Enformant being in Company of Several Persons, where mention was made about the said Prosecution, one of the said Company, to the best of This Informants Knowledge, said, That the Brothers of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been to Wait upon the late Lord Chancellor Nottingham, about Saving their Brothers Estate.

But

But this Enformant not well remembering who it was that said those words, and discourse, about two Months since, upon that account being had between This Enformant and several others in Company, among whom was Mr. William Fall, who was formerly related to the said Lord High Chancellor: as one of his Gentlemen attending him, This Enformant asked the said Mr. Fall before the said Company, Whether he had not Utter'd such or the like Words; who Answer'd to him this Enformant, and the rest of the said Company then present, that he had Declar'd as much, and would at any time Testify the same, if occasion should be given, or Words to that or the like Effect.

Mr. William Fall Deposeth, That at the Time when Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House, Two of his Brothers came several times to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham; and that it was a Common Talk in the Family, that their Business with the Lord Chancellor was, to beg his Lordships Assistance to secure their Brother's Estate, in case he should be found to have made Himself away.

And then again there's an Enformation of Mr. White's the Coroner of Westminster, that looks a Little This way too.

Robert White Deposeth, That this Enformant hearing that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing, went to Mr. Weldens to Enquire after him, where he found Sir Edmund's Clark, Sitting by the Fire-side in Mr. Welden's Private Room, Smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco. This Enformant reproving him for spending his Time There, since there was such an Uproar in the Town about his Masters Absence; To which he gave very little Answer.

And

And further, That this Enformant then discoursing with Mr. Welden about the said Sir Edmunds Absence, The said Welden said, He could not tell what to think of it : And This Enformant Frequenting the House of the said Welden afterward, to hear what News of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the said Mr. Welden, at the last told This Enformant, that he did very much suspect him to be Murther'd by the Papists. And That between the Pall-Mall, and Arundel-House ; And that if there were a Search made, he the said Welden doubted not but it would appear so. Upon which, This Enformant told the said Welden, That if Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Brother (This Enformant knowing but of One Brother) had a Desire to have Search made, that He This Enformant did not Doubt but forthwith to Procure a Warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, being at That Time at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly. And then left the said Welden : And soon after, This Enformant repairing to the said Welden, He asked the said Welden, Whether he had acquainted Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother of What he had told him, touching a VVarrant to Search ; and the said Welden Answered to This Effect ; You talk of Searching, but they are Searching more after something else then Him. After which This Enformant heard no more of the Matter.

It is now High time to go off from This Point ; and the Matter is so Plain, there will need no Explanation upon the Text ; But to do Things in Order, Harry Moor says, they were upon the Search, and it would do well to Enquire in This Place, what Discoveries they made, and we shall afterwards see how far they Emprov'd These Discoveries.

Henry Moor Deposes, That He, by the Order of Mr. Michael Godfrey, did go to a Great Funeral on the Tuesday

day Night next after the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Absent from his House, to Divulge his Absence, and to hear if any Person among the Number of People that were there, could make any Discovery, or give any Account of him : And when he was at the said Funeral, and Discovering of the said Sir Edmunds Absence, there was one Parsons amongst the said Company, who did then and there Declare, that he met with the said Sir Edmund on the Saturday Morning before Nine, in St. Martins-Lane, who then enquired of him the said Parsons, the way to Primrose-Hill ; saying further, that he had been Searching within a Little of the Place where the Body was found.

Judith Pamphlin Deposeth, That upon the Next Tuesday after Sir Edmund was Missing, to the Best of This Enformants Remembrance, Henry Moor the Clark of Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that one Parsons said to the said Moor, that upon the Saturday Morning then last Past ; He the said Parsons met Sir Edmund in St. Martins Lane, who Asked the said Parsons the Way to some Woods, which This Enformant doth Not remember ; somewhere about Primrose Hill.

Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, That she had it from Judith Pamphlin, that One Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, told Sir Edmund's Clark, that he met Sir Edmund the same Saturday when he went away, and Sir Edmund asked him the way to Primrose Hill.

And saith, that Mrs. Pamphlin told This Enformant, that the Clark told her, that he was within Few Rods of the Body at Primrose Hill the Day before (being Monday) when he was in the Search of Sir Edmund.

Now to take These Pieces as they lye ; a Body would think by Moors Enformation, that the First News of

of his Master had been the Account he had from Parsons at that Funeral; whereas it Appears, both by the Enformation of Judith Pamphlin, from the Mouth of Moor, and of Mrs. Gibbon from the Relation of Pamphlin, that the Clark had been Searching for his Master about Primrose Hill the Day before: Nay, and from the Clarks own Mouth too, that he had the very Direction from Parsons Himself; which is most Particularly Confirm'd and Enlarg'd upon, by Mr. Wheeler.

Mr. Richard Wheeler Deposeth, that on Tuesday, (October 15th.) This Enformant went about Noon to the House of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey (He having been Missing ever since Saturday) to enquire if They had heard of him; while the Mace-Bearer to the Lord Chancellor was talking to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark at the same time; And (as it appear'd) being there, upon the same Errand. The Clark making answer, that they had heard Nothing of him, but what they had from Mr. Parsons, a Coachmaker, (then Church-Warden of St. Martin's) and from a Fellow that was us'd to Light him home, that was sawing a Piece of Timber in So-Ho Fields. The same Clark said also, the same Tuesday, that Parsons said at the Burial, that he walked with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, up St. Martin's Lane, the Saturday Morning (Octob. 12. 1678.) between Eight and Nine of the Clock; and that much about the same time, the Sawyer saw Sir Edmund in So-Ho; And Described his Cloaths and his Band. And further, that Mr. Cooper, and his Silter-in-Law, Mrs. Lowen (now Leeson) coming out of Mr. Cook's door in St. Martin's Lane, met Sir Edmund, and spake to him.

Now the Evidence of Thomas Mason serves to Illustrate and strengthen All the Rest.

Thomas Mason of Marybone Deposeth, that he knew the Person of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey very well; And
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had Custom'd Him, and one Kemp that was his Partner, for Coles; and that he This Enformant saw the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey upon the Saturday, whereon This Enformant heard the said Sir Edmund was first Missing; That is to say, That He This Enformant (as he was going from London to his own House) met the said Sir Edmund about Ten a Clock the Saturday Morning aforesaid; The said Sir Edmund coming toward London, in the Fields, betwixt Mary-bone Pound, and Mary-bone Street: This Enformant likewise giving the said Sir Edmund the Time of the Day, Who (as This Enformant Remembreth) was All in Black Cloaths.

And saith, that as This Enformant was walking with his Wife Under a Hedge near his House upon the Monday Morning, next after the Saturday abovesaid, about Ten of the Clock, there came a short Man in Black Cloaths, in Appearance about Fifty Years of Age, to Enquire of This Enformant whether he had seen his Master, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday Last; for he had Lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him; The said Person being very sad, and telling This Enformant, that he was Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Clark. This Enformant giving the said Person this Answer; That He This Enformant did see him upon Saturday (as aforesaid) and had not seen him since.

He was by Ten a Clock upon the Monday Morning gotten as far as the Half-way House to Enquire for his Master about Those very Fields, where afterwards his Body was found. Mason told him as above, that he met him upon Saturday going towards London, and had not seen him since: but This did not Hinder Moor yet, (as appears by his own Relation) from Going-on and Prosecuting his Search. Now there were No Arundel-Houses, No Somerset-Houses in That Walk; but his very Fancy wrought upon him, even Contrary to the Direction of his

his Reason; for he would have come back else, and turn'd his Thought Another way. But the *Ghastly Impression* of his *Last Farewell* upon *Saturday Morning* stuck so Close to him, that he thought it more likely to find him in a *Ditch*, then *any where else*. His Bus'ness into Those *Fields*, was, out of All Dispute, to search the *Ditches* for him; upon a *strong Apprehension* that he had kill'd Himself. It was but *Coasting the Mounds* to make the *Discovery*; And *There*, Undoubtedly, he *Look'd* for him; and *There*, 'tis Forty to One, he *Found* him. This *Collation of Testimonies* makes *Moor's* own *Enformation*, *Pamphlin's Enformation*, of what *Moor* and his *Wife* said to Her; *Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation* of what she had from *Pamphlin*, and *Sir Edmund's Apprehension* of himself to be *All of a Piece*.

There are a *Couple of Questions* now, that Hang one upon the Link of Another; which, the Reader, I presume, will Take into his Consideration. *First*, VVhy should *Moor* make a *Countenance*, as if he had known *Nothing* 'till *Tuesday Night* at the *Burial*, of *Parson's* Talk with his *Master* upon *Saturday morning*, when it appears most *Evidently*, that he knew it, either upon the *Sunday*, or *Early* the *Monday morning* before? *2dly*, VVhy could No *Resolution* be Taken for the *Divulging* of the *Secret*, (as he calls it) 'till he had spoken with my *Lord Chancellor*, and my *Lord Privy Seal* about it? This looks, as if there had been an eye rather to the *Saving* of the *Estate*, then to the *Discovery* of a *murther*; for what *Light* could their *Lordships* give, toward the finding of the *Body*; Or what *Reason* could any man give, for the making of it a *Secret*? unless they were afraid that *Truth* should come out? But I am now coming to an end. Here's *Mr. Wynel*, *Captain Gibbon* with his *Wife* and two *Daughters*; *Mr. Wheeler*, *Mr. Radcliffe*, *Harry Moor Himself*, and *Judith Pamphlin*: They speak All of them to very *Great Points*; To say *Nothing* of

Forty and Forty Witnesses of Unquestionable Probity besides; but most of them, rather Collateral, then Point Blank Evidences. VVe shall see in good Time, when the main Cause comes to an Issue, what use shall be made of Their Testimonies.

C H A P. VIII.

When, How, Where, and in What Manner the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Found; And what pass'd 'till the Coroners Inquest sat upon the View of it.

ON the 17th. of October, 1678. One Bromwell, and Walters passing toward the White-house about Three or Four Afternoon, saw a Cane and a Pair of Gloves lying upon a Bank, on a Ditch side; and Talking of it Afterwards at the House, they went back by Consent, with John Rawson, the Master of the House, to see if they were there still. See their Enformations at Length, Part 1. Cap. 10. The Master stooping to take up the Gloves, Discover'd a Dead Body; Whereupon they went Immediately to One Brown, a Constable, to give him Notice of it. Who gives This following Enformation upon the Matter.

John Brown Deposeth, that This Enformant very well knew Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; And that about Six or Seven of the Clock (to the Best of This Enformants Memory) on the Thursday Evening, after the said Sir Edmund went from his House, there came unto This Enformant, into This Enformants House, One William Bromwell a Baker, and John VValters a Farrier, both

of St. Giles's in the Fields, who told this Enformant that there was a Man Dead in a Ditch, with a Sword run through him near Primrose-Hill: Making mention likewise of a Stick, and a Pair of Gloves, a Scabbard, and Belt, that lay there not far from the Body. Whereupon, this Enformant took several of the Neighbours to his Assistance, some on Horseback, and others a-foot, and went forthwith to the Place where the Body lay; which Place was so Cover'd with Bushes, and Brambles, in and about the Ditch, that it was a hard matter to see the Body, till one were come just upon it.

That having found the Body laid the Length-ways of the Ditch; The Left Hand under the Head upon the Bottom of the Ditch; The Right Hand a little stretcht out, and touching the Bank on the Right-side; The Knees touching the Bottom of the Ditch, and his Feet not touching the Ground, but Resting upon the Brambles; The Pommel of the Sword not reaching to the Bottom of the Ditch; The Body lying in so Crooked a Posture, keeping it from the Ground; The Periwig and the Hat, lying in the Bottom of the Ditch, a little before the Body; The Body being thus found, as aforesaid, this Enformant bestrid the Corps, as it lay in the Ditch, and put his Hands about it to find how the Sword was Plac'd.

That after what's Above-said, This Enformant spake to the Company to Hand the Body out of the Ditch, this Enformant helping likewise, Himself; and they remov'd it about Five or Six Yards, to the best of this Enformants Conjecture, from the Ditch, where the said Body lay: And that upon the Drawing of the Body out, some of the Company saying it was a Tall Man, this Enformant reflecting upon it, sayd to this Effect, Pray God it be not Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey, for he hath been for some time Missing; and some others also had the same Apprehension. It was then very Dark, and this Enformant Kneeling down to take the best View of the Face that he could, continued in

the Suspicion, but could no be as yet Positive, that it was the Body of the said Sir Edmund.

This Enformant enter'd then into a Consideration with the Company, how they might best get the Body up to the White-House; and concluding that it would endanger the Breaking the Sword, to carry the Body All the Way with the Sword in't: It was resolved rather to take out the Sword, which was accordingly done, having first Cautioned the Company to take particular Notice of every Circumstance, how the Sword and the Body were. This Enformant hereupon, took out the Sword, which was somewhat niard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone, in the Plucking of it forth.

And faith, That upon this, the Enformant and the Company layd the Body a-Cross two Watchmens Staves, and so carry'd it to-Rights up to the White-House, where they layd him down upon the Floor in the House: And this Enformant caused the Mony, and the Papers, and what was found in the Pockets, to be enter'd into a Note, and a Duplicate to be taken thereof, to prevent any Mistakes.

That immediately after taking of the said Notes, the Body was laid upon the Table, and no doubt any longer but it was the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

This being done, This Enformant gave Order, that the Watch-men that were there a-foot, should stay with the Body, and not suffer any Medling with it, till they should hear further from This Enformant: And so he this Enformant, and the rest of the Horsemen, (being about Seven in Number) rode away to Hartthorn-Lane, to the House of the Late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and enquired for the Justice: But after Words Pass'd, a Woman there telling this Enformant, that the Brothers were above; This Enformant sent to desire to speak with them; and they came presently down, there being in the Company Mr. Benjamin, and Mr. Michael Godfrey, one Mr. Plucknet,

net, and one Mr. Ramsey, whom this Enformant saw to go into the House before him.

And that this Enformant told the said Company, that they had found the Body in a Ditch near Primrose-Hill, with a Sword through it: And that they had remov'd the said Body to the White-House. The said Brothers strictly enquiring of this Enformant, How he was sure that it was Sir Edmund's Body? Who Reply'd, That he knew him very well. The Brothers and Mr. Ramsey had some Discourse by themselves together; after which, Mr. Plucknet told this Enformant, that he would go along with him to the Body. Hereupon this Enformant and the said Mr. Plucknet rode away to the White-House, it being then Ten a Clock, or thereabouts; Mr. Ramsey telling this Enformant, that he would immediately give the King Notice of it, and appointed this Enformant to meet him at the Checquer Inn about One of the Clock.

This Enformant being Demanded, What Persons he can call to Mind of Those that went with him to Hartshorn-Lane, when he carry'd the First News of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey's Body being found, to the Brothers there? He maketh Answer, That there was Joseph Girle, William Whitcomb, John James, William Lock, John Paris; And that all the Persons above mentioned, Assisted, more or less, in the carrying off the Body from the Ditch where it was found, to the White-House, and John Rawson, with others, whom he cannot remember.

John Hartwell Deposeth, That being told that there was a Person found Dead in a Ditch in the Parish, with a Sword through the Body, He this Enformant, with some other Company, went to see the Body where it lay in the Ditch, with a Sword above a Handful out at the Back: One Hand Extended before him, with the Face leaning upon it, and the other Hand lying Backwards; A Hat and Periwig before him; His Cane, Gloves, and Sword

lying behind him upon a Bank; A Dark Colour'd Stuff Coat on; It was a Tempestuous Night, that they could have No Light to see the Body by; And that upon This View of the Body, the Constable desired the People to take Notice, how the Body lay, and how far the Sword was through him: And thereupon, the said Constable Order'd the Body to be taken out of the Ditch: And it was accordingly Handed out a matter of Eight or Ten Yards from the Place.

And that the Sword being as yet in the Body, the Constable either took it, or order'd it to be taken out of the Body; And so the Body was laid upon Two Watchmens Staves, and carry'd up to the Wite House, where the said Body was layd in the House upon the Floor.

John Rawlson, Joseph Gisle, John Paris, and others, Speak to the same Effect about the Finding and Removing of the Body, and the Drawing of the Sword, which was a way of Proceeding very Extraordinary, and enough, not only to Puzzle the Inquest upon Examination of the Matter; but to put any Thinking Man hard to't, to find a Warrantable Reason for what they did, for the Position of the Body in the Ditch, and the Circumstances that went along with it, would have been the Best Light the Matter would bear, toward the Guiding of them in their Verdict. But I am perswaded, that it was an Error without Malice.

The Body however, is now Lodg'd at the White-House, and the next Thing in the Course of Law, is to pass a View upon't: But it will do well in the mean time to see what Matter the Coroner has to work upon.

The Enformation that Mr. Wheeler gives upon this Subject, is very Pertinent, and very Particular.

Mr. Wheeler Deposes, That on Wednesday, October 16. there was a Vestry in St. Martins, where this En-
formant, Mr. James Supples, and Mr. Wilson were Pre-
sent. Upon the Rising, they Adjourn'd thence to the Fleece
Tavern in St. Martins Lane, and sent Notice to the
Church-Wardens, Mr. Parsons, and Mr. Monk, that
they were there, and the said Church-Wardens came im-
mediately thither; and presently after them, in came Dean
Lloyd, to know what was become of Sir Edmund; saying,
That he had been led into some Mistakes, or to that Effect,
already; but he would make no more if he could help it. It
was then said by some of the Company, that Mr. Radcliffe
walked out of London with Sir Edmund about One of
the Clock upon the Saturday before, or about Twelve:
Whereupon Dr. Lloyd said, he would go and enquire of
him; but the Company Desired him to stay, and said they
would send for Mr. Radcliffe, which they did, and he
came accordingly: And the said Radcliffe being come, some-
body asked him, whether he walked out of London with Sir
Edmund, as is above said? To which the said Radcliffe re-
plied, No: But that Sir Edmund was at his Door
about One of the Clock That Saturday; for he was
Taking in of Goods that came out of London.

Mr. Wheeler was told by Parsons, that Sir Edmund-
bury Godfrey Asked him Three Times that Saturday Morn-
ing, in St. Martins Lane, whereabouts Paddington-Woods
were.

The People that are found upon Proof to have seen
Sir Edmundbury Godfrey the Saturday that he went
away, are Richard Cooper, Mary Leeson, Joshua Foxley,
John Parsons, All in St. Martins Lane, about Eight or
Nine in the Morning. A Sawyer in So-ho. William Col-
lins, and a Milk-woman in Marybone Fields about Nine:
Tho. Mason about Ten, Met him in the Fields betwixt
Mary-

Marybone-Pound and *Marybone-Street*; coming toward *London*, *Joseph Radcliffe*, and his *Wife*, saw him in the *Strand* near *One*: *Mont* saw him *Passing* by *New-market*: *Mr. Richard Bornford* saw him about *One* of the *Clock*, a very *Little* Over or Under, *Passing* through the *Back Gate* of *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*; and observed him to go forward under the *Wall* toward the *Portugal Row*, some *Three* or *Fourscore* *Paces*, as he *Judges*: *Mr. Stephen Primate* of *Grays-Inn* saw him *Walking* *Cross* the *Fields* toward *Turn-Style*, from the *Corner* of *Clare-Market*, at, or about *Two* a *Clock*, as he conceiveth. *Thomas Snell* saw him some time about *Noon*, (according to his *Remembrance*) passing by the said *Snell's House*, from *Turn-Style* in *Holborn* into the *Red-Lyon-Fields*: *Mr. Tho. Grundy*, and *Mr. James Hysman* saw him about *Two* or *Three* in the *Afternoon* near *Primrose-Hill*, according to their *Enformations*, *Cap. 2. Part 1.* Now in such a *Case* as *This*, *This Difference* of an *Hour*, *More* or *Less*, upon a *Conjecture* at such a *Distance* of *Time*, breaks no *Squares*, as any *Man* will find upon his *Appealing* to his own *Memory*, and *Experience*, how often he has been *Mistaken* himself, *Sooner* or *Later*, as much as that comes to, upon a *Present Guess* at the *time* of the *Day*. But after all the *Rest*, I must not forget what one *Baker* said upon the *Sight* of the *Body* at the *White-House*, [*That he saw that Man* in a certain *Closet* thereabouts that he *Named*, upon *That Saturday* in the *Afternoon*, or the *Devil* in his *Clothes*. To the *Truth* of which,

Margaret Rawson *Deposeth*, *That this Enformant* heard *Edward Baker*, upon the *View* of the *Body* of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, *Speak Words* to this *Effect*, to the *Best* of this *Enformants Memory*, *Either* I saw this *Man* in my *Fathers Forty Acres-Field* upon some *Day*, which *This Enformant* doth not *Remember*, or the *Devil* in his *Clothes*.
Mr.

Mr. Thomas Burdet Likewise Deposeth, That he was told by the Man and his Wife; that Liv'd at That Time in the White-House, That a Person seeing the Body of Sir E. B. Godfrey, in a Crowd of Other Company, said he had seen that Man at Three of the Clock upon the Saturday in the Afternoon, in his Fathers So-many-Acres-Close : (This Enformant having forgotten the Precise Number of the Acres) And that upon some Question made, he Confirm'd it again with an Oath, That he knew him well enough; and that By God it was either he, or the Devil in his Clothes.

Here's Matter in Sight, abundantly enough to Enquire upon; beside infinitely more, that out of Fear, Faction, and Lazyness, has been Undoubtedly Lost, or Suppress'd; and it Cannot be Imagin'd, that Any of These Particulars should be kept so Private as not to come to the Knowledge, either of the Jurors Themselves or of Those that were Concern'd to Search out, and to Subminister All Fair and Honest Lights toward the Instructing of a Jury; and I am affraid, that This is The Part of the History that will be found the Important Secret that was given in Charge not to be Discover'd. The Bus'ness of Godfrey was at That Time the Whole Talk of the Town, and the Story of the Brewer, the Coach-maker, a Nurse, and the Milk-Woman, was the very Pinch of the Discourse: He was Seen Here by Such a One, There by Such Another, and hardly any Body set Eye upon him, that did not take Notice of a Troubled Head in his very Look and Gate; over and above, that even the Course of his Perambulation was not a Faunt for any man in his Right mind to Take; Nay, the Distraction of his Thoughts appear'd in the Wandrings, and Irresolutions of his Steps: It did not look like a Walk either for Pleasure, or

or for *Bus'ness*; But rather the *Whiling* away of so many *hours* under the *Fluctuation* of *Sick and Doubting Thoughts*, and in a kind of *Conflict* (as a *Man* may say) betwixt his *Nature*, and his *Disease*. 'Tis much to be *Suspected*, that at his *First Setting out*, he had the very *Thing* in his *Eye*, as well as the *Place*; And that if a *Body* may *Gather* any thing, either from his *Melancholy*, or from his *Enquiring the Way* thither, He went *Probably* to *Those* very *Fields*; for *Collins*, and the *Milk-woman*, saw him thereabouts, and *Mason* met him then at *Ten That Morning*, coming back again, which in a *Reasonable Construction* was no more than to say, that his *Heart* had not *Serv'd* him to go thorough with his *Work That Bout*. After his *Return*, we have him again in the *Strand*, *New-market*, *Lincolns-Inn-Back-Gate*, the *Fields*, *Turn-Style*, *Red-Lyon-Fields*; and so forward to the very *Next Close* to That where the *Body* was found; Nay, *Mr. Grundy*, and *Mr. Hysfman*, lost *Sight* of him at a *Blind-Passage* over a *Plank* that *Struck* off directly to the very *Ditch*; and so far from any appearance of being *Dogg'd* all this while, that it look'd as if *Company* had almost shun'd Him as much, as He shun'd *Company*.

C H A P. IX.

A Jury Summoned to Sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and some Difficulty Started about it.

UPon the finding of the *Body*; the *First Thing* to be done according to *Reason*, *Equity*, and *Prudence*, should have been the *Securing* of it 'till a *Formal View* might have been taken of the *Body* it Self, and

and every thing about it, or Relating to it, in the very same State, and under the very same Circumstances wherein it was found. Descriptions, or Reports, upon either Fancy, or Memory, are Short and Faint; Compar'd with the Lights we receive from Visible Effects, Operations, and Dispositions of Things in a Course of Nature: But the Body being Remov'd, the Sword taken out, The Place it self Trampled upon, and Disorder'd; The True Judgment of the Case lay at the Mercy of the Reporters; So that they might Represent, Alter, Disguise, Add, or Diminish as they pleas'd. The Jury in short, were fain to Content Themselves with such an Account of the Matter, as the Constable, and his Assistants thought fit to give them; or perhaps as they were able to give them: Considering that All This was done in a Dark Tempestuous Night, without either Link, Lanthorn, or the Help of any other Light whatsoever. There was Great Stress laid upon't, that they saw No Bloud in the Ditch; No Mark of the Pommel of the Sword: when yet if there had been both the One, and the Other, it could hardly be Expected, after so much muddling of the Earth to get the Body out, that there should remain any Sign of Either. Or however, if they had a Mind to be Partial, there was Pretence Enough for the Hiding, and the Smothering of it, without any Colour of Suspicion. Nay, and the Constable was half Oblig'd to Palliate the Bus'ness, even in his own Defence; and as some sort of Atone-ment for so Unwarrantable a Proceeding. In few words, the Judgment of the Case, Depended greatly upon the Particulars of the Relation: Insomuch, that upon being found in One Posture, he would have been thought to have kill'd Himself, and the Presumption would have been as Strong in Another Case, that he had been Murder'd by some body else. This Irregularity would lye Open to very strong Exceptions, if a Body should

Mea-

Measure the Government of *This Part* of the Story, by the *Manage* of the Rest: but I am verily persuaded, that the *Constables Fault in Carrying off the Body*, was only a *Rash*, and an *Officious Ignorance*, without any sort of *Malice*.

But to take Things *de bene esse*, and as we find them: The *Body* is now at the *White-House*; *Brown* the Constable has given the Brothers Notice of it at *Hartshorn-Lane*, and brought Mr. *Plucknet* back with him to see it upon the *Place*.

Brown Deposeth, That Mr. *Plucknet*, casting his Eyes upon the Face, Cry'd out presently, This is my Brother *Godfrey*; and they immediately resolved to go down with a Candle and *Lanthorn* to the Place where the Body was found: The said Mr. *Plucknet*, This Enformant, and one *Rawson*, the Master of the *White-House*, going down together.

This Enformant, after Viewing the Body, and the Place where it was found, went with Mr. *Plucknet* to the *Checquer-Inn* at *Charing-Cross* (According to an Appointment mention'd Cap. 8. (being near Two in the Morning) where Mr. *Ramsey* met according to his Appointment, and told This Enformant, That he had Enformed his Majesty of the Matter, and that This Enformant need Trouble himself no further, but that a Coroner should be order'd to come to This Enformant, Early the same Morning; which he did, and brought This Enformant a Warrant for the Summoning of a Jury to go forthwith to the *White-house*, and Sit upon the Body aforesaid: The Jurors Names being as followeth.

St. Giles's.

Mr. Tho. Harris.
Mr. Philip Wine.
Mr. John Cowsey.
Mr. William Collens.
Mr. Tho. Woollam.
Mr. John Carvel.
Mr. Anthony Fryer.
Mr. Christ. Jarvis.
Mr. Robert Trotton.

Mary-bone.

Mr. Joseph Girle.
Mr. John Hartwell.
Mr. William Lock.
Mr. John Owen.
Mr. Simon Standever.
Mr. Thomas Mason.
Mr. Paul Harding.
Paddington.
Mr. Matthew Haines.
Mr. John Davies.

And Saith, That the Jury met accordingly at the White-House, and after Sitting a While, they Adjourn'd without Coming to a Verdict.

The Jury Met, we See; but could not come to an Agreement That Meeting; for what Reason they Adjourn'd; and upon what Grounds they proceeded afterward to a Verdict, shall be seen in the Proper Place: But it may be Reasonably Collected yet, that there was Somewhat more then Ordinary in the Wind, from the Earnest Application that was made for the Joyn- ing of Mr. White the Coroner of Westminster, to the Assistance of Mr. Cooper, who was then Sitting upon the Body: And the Presumption is so much the stronger, because they were so far Enter'd, and so much Divi- ded upon the Matter before them; which might seem to Insinuate either the Partiality of a Practice, or a Nicery in the Question; and taking it either the One way, or the Other, it had the Face of a very Honest, and a very Seasonable Council. But the Fact will be Better Set forth in the Following Enformation.

Robert

Robert White Deposeth, That upon the Discovery of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, there were Two Persons of the Acquaintance of the said Sir Edmund, To wit; One Wigg a Grocer; and one Bookey (or some such Name) a Linnen-Draper; Who came together to the House of Thir Enformant; And told him, that they were much Troubled; And so were divers others of the Parish, that This Enformant was not the Coroner to sit upon the said Body: And then Desired This Enformant very Pressingly to Enquire into the Bus'ness: To which, This Enformant told them, that he did not Love to Thrust himself into Such a Bus'ness, without the request of the Coroner. But the aforesaid Persons not being Satisfy'd with This Answer, and still Pressing him to be Concern'd in the Enquiry; This Enformant told them, That if the Brother of the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, should desire This Enformant to be Assisting to him the said Brother, that then This Enformant would be willing to Assist. Whereupon the said Wigg and Bookey took their Leaves of This Enformant, and told him that they would Endeavour with all Expedition to Speak to the Brother of the said Sir Edmund about it. And within an hour or two after, This Enformant had Notice brought him to his House, Desiring him to be at the Greyhound-Tavern in the Strand, about Two or Three a Clock That Saturday in the Afternoon: And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where he found Mr. Wigg, and Mr. Bookey, and staid with him 'till a Certain Gentleman came to him, whom he took to be Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Brother, who took This Enformant into a Coach, and away they went together to a House in St. Giles'es, where the Coroner, and his Inquest were together. Then this Enformant desired the said Brother to Acquaint the Coroner, that He this Enformant was there Present; And the said Brother Whis-
per'd

per'd to the Coroner in This Enformant's Presence; but This Enformant did not hear what he said. And the said Brother returning presently to This Enformant, told him, that the Coroner did not desire his being there. Whereupon This Enformant went down; Sir Edmund's said Brother following, who gave This Enformant a Guinea at the Door, for his Trouble, and so This Enformant went away.

These Two Persons, Wigg and Bookey are since Dead; but they have left a Good Name behind them, for Men of Substance, and Reputation; and it was at the Common Instance of Divers Others of the Parishioners too, that This Desire or Proposition was set afoot; and the very Hint of it does Necessarily presume some Dissatisfaction they had in the Former way of Proceeding. But the Bus'ness went forward Never the Less; And the Neighbourhood of Paddington it self was as Little Pleas'd after the Verdict, as Others were Before: and they Mutter'd at it sufficiently, so far as they durst; but the Barbarous Usage of Bromwell and Walters, for only Finding the Body, Ty'd up other Peoples Tongues from speaking their Thoughts out-right in so Dangerous a Story.

This was a Cause, perchance, that in a Reasonable Prospect of the Issue of it, was to have as Powerful an Influence upon the Honour, and Safety of the King and his Government, as ever any Disaster since the Creation; that appear'd to be so Little and Inconsiderable, in sight; and therefore No Care could have been too much, for the bringing of This Matter to a Clear Light; In respect either of the Openness, and Candor of the Proceeding; a strict, and Industrious Enquiry; All Warrantable Ways and Means of gaining Full, and Credible Informations: The Pertinence and Sufficiency of the Proofs: The Qualification of the Witnesses; and the like.

like. To Conclude, a Man methinks should be *Glad, and Forward*, in an Instance of This Quality, to take in what Help he Can, fairly, to Assist him in the *Scrutiny* toward the *Discharge* of his *Conscience*: and to Secure himself of a *safe Appeal* from the *Censure* and *Envy* that commonly Attends *Resolutions* of This *Nature*.

C H A P. X.

The Subject of the Debate; and First of the Position of the Body, as it lay in the Ditch.

THE Cause being now before the *Jury*, we shall speak to the several *Parts* of it in *Order*, and Begin with a *Consideration* of the *Position* of the *Body* in the *Ditch*, as we have it by *Tradition* from the *Constable*, and his *Assistants*. The Description of it in, *Mr. Pain*, and *Mr. Farwell's First Letter*, to *Mr. Miles Prance*, is *Allowed*, without *Contradiction*, to be exactly *Correct*, and *Just*, and therefore I cannot do *Better*, then to Deliver it to the *World* as I find it *ready drawn* to my hand.

His Breast was *Unbutton'd*, his *Wastcoat*, and *Shirt* put by, his *Sword* run in under his *Left Pap*, next his *Skin*, the *Point* Coming out at his *Right Shoulder*, about *Six Inches*, his *Left Arm* doubled under him, (on which his *Head* seem'd to *Lean*) And his *Right Arm*, stiff, stretcht out upon the *Bank*; his *Belly* and *Breast* being supported by the side of the *Bank*; his *Knees* *Knit together*, and with his *Hips* a little *Bending*, or *Doubling* under him.

No Painter could have drawn a Man that had Cast himself in a Ditch upon his own Sword, more according to Nature, then the Publisher of This Description has done This Unhappy Person: Neither was it Morally Possible, for People in the Dark to Dispose of a Body, and every Part of it, into so Proper and Congruous a Position. And it was as Little Possible, to bring a Dead Body and the several Parts of it, to Comply with the Circumstances of This Figure. His Right Arm was stiff, and his Left Arm doubled under him in the Ditch; and afterward, upon the Table, in the White-house, Both Arms so stiff, that Fisher was fain to Tear off the shirt, when he helped to strip him.

Let but any Man Fancy to himself now a Lively Image of This Disposition of the Body, and the several Parts of it; and say if he thinks it possible, for People (Nay, and it was in the Dark too) to Place every Thing in a Posture so Proper, and so Congruous to the Occasion. No Painter could have Design'd so Natural a Resolution as This Chance-Cast of Prances, dropt into. [They Threw him into a Ditch, (says Prance) and Layd his Gloves and Other Things upon the Bank, Tryal, fol. 20.] So that there was more Care taken, it seems, of his Trinkets, then of his Body. And it was not All, Neither, that Every Line and Point in the Composition of That Figure, seem'd to speak as Plainly as the Voice of Nature it self could have done; that he dy'd upon That Spot: But the Whole World could not have put his Head, Neck, Body, and Limbs, into That Position, if Death had Not Left him jult in That Manner, and in That Place where afterward they Found him. The Witnesses will have it that the Murtherers Convey'd the Body from Somerset-house to the Ditch; and There left him (as is said Already) with his Mony in his Pocket, that it might be thought that he Kill'd Himself. Now if the Whole Pretence of the Somerset-house Murther was

an *Imposture*, as *Truth it self* is not more *Certain*; it is by their own *Argument*, a very *Reasonable Thing*, to *Believe*, upon This appearance of *Matters*, that he did *Kill Himself*; Unless they can *Produce* some *Colour* at least, that *some body else Kill'd him*; for *Never* was a *Thing* better *Prov'd* by *Secondary Circumstances*, then That he *Threw Himself upon his Own Sword*. And no *Man* can *Doubt* it, that *Considers* the *Contradictions* of the *Evidence*; the *Distance* betwixt *Somerset-house* and *Primrose-hill*; The *Bearers* that *Carry'd him*; Their *Accoutrements*; The *Watches*, and the *Almost Impassable Difficulties* in the *Way*; The *Chairing* of him *One Half* of his *Journey*, and the *Horsing* of him *Torther*. To say *Nothing* of a *Thousand Fopperies* more to come, that were *Utterly* as *Incredible*, as any of the *Rest*.

The *First Question*, *Naturally* in All These *Cases*, is the *Condition*, and the *Posture* of the *Body*: And so, What *Evidence* of any *Weapon*, *Instrument*, or *Accident*, by which the *Person* might come or be brought to his *end*: And whether by *Himself*, or by *Another Hand*. After These *Enquiries*, the *Circumstances* to be *Well-weighed*; and all such *Witnesses* call'd in to give *Evidence*, as were either of his *Relations*, or *Familiar Acquaintances*, or otherwise *suppos'd*, or *Presum'd* to be most *Privy* to his *Affairs*: either in *General*, or with a *Regard* to the *Particular* that is here in *Question*. It is a very *Great Light* (as I was a saying) that may be taken from such a *Description* of the *State*, and *Appearance* of the *Body*, as the *Jury* had before them: There are some *Mortal Hurts*, or *Wounds* that a *Body* can not be *suppos'd* to have given *Himself*: There are some *Others* of so special an *Application*, and *Direction*, that One can hardly believe them to have been given by *Another Hand*. Now it is very *Remarkable*, that This *Consideration*, for ought that I have been hitherto able to *Learn*, was never Yet brought upon the

the Carpet; either before the Coroner, or in Truth, at the King's Bench Bar, at the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers; But in Both Places they leapt over the Preliminaries in the Ditch, saving only the Two Negatives, that there was No Bloud found there; nor any Dint of the Pummel of the Sword. [Pray (says Mr. Recorder to the Constable) in what Posture did You find Sir Edmundbury Godfrey? [Mr. Brown] I found him my Lord in a Ditch, with his Sword thorough him, and the end of it was Two handfuls out of his back. Green's Tryal, pa. 35.] Now This was a very short Answer, to a Home Question; And Nothing at all to the Posture, but only to the Weapon, and the Wound. If Brown had come up to the Interrogatory, He should have said that he lay Greveling Upon That Sword; and he should have given the Court an Account of Twenty Other Whats and Hows Beside; but the Posture, and all that belonged to't, was Blown off presently, and the Eyes and the Thoughts of the People Carry'd away, to the Question of Bloud, or No Bloud, in the Ditch; And to the Gold and Silver that was Left in his Pocket, to Persuade the World that he Kild Himself; and that the Killers of him made more Conscience of Picking a Pocket, then of Committing a Murther. Nay Brown has worded his Deposition in the Next Page, as if he were Delivering a Verdict, rather then an Evidence; where he Determines the Point, in saying, That They had run it into another Place, but that happen'd to be against a Rib: But we shall let That pass for a Slip too, as we did the Former. After This, They call'd in Two Surgeons to their Aid, but they were upon a View of the Body still, as it lay upon the Table, not as 'twas found in the Ditch; and therefore to say no more of it, they were extremely short in Passing over the Bus'ness of the Ditch; which, in Effect, was the Best Guide they had to the Truth of the Matter, and the most Convincing Part of their Evi-

dence. The Other Scruples, were, at the Fairest, but Dubious, and Confounded with Incoherences, and Unlikelyhoods in abundance; whereas the Position of the Body, and the Parts of it in the Ditch, was so certain an Indication of his Dying by his Own Sword, that they might have Counterfeited Nature in any thing else, as well as in That Figure: Beside, that the Wound could very hardly have been Given him by Another Hand; for it pass'd from under the Left Pap through the Blade, or some Bony Part of his Left Shoulder: Insomuch, that in Brown's own Words, It was somewhat hard in the Drawing, and Crash'd upon the Bone in the Plucking of it forth, See Chap. 8. There lyes One Objection in the Way, and it is Easily Answered. The Pommel of the Sword, as Brown says, Did not touch the Bottom of the Ditch; but Imputes it to the Crooked Posture of his Body, and the Thickness of the Bushes upon the Place. Now, if the Pommel of the Sword was Pitched upon the Side of the Ditch, it could not be expected that it should still Rest there after the doing of the Execution; for what with the Preponderating Weight of his Body, and the Struggling of Nature upon the Last Convulsion, it must of Necessity, remove: And then his Body being Otherwise Supported by his Knees at the Bottom of the Ditch, and the Weight of it bearing upon his Left Arm, lying Doubled under his Head, the Pommel of the Sword could not well touch the Bottom of the Ditch. But Mr. Skillarne, one of the Surgeons that Assisted upon the View of the Body, Speaks most Expressly to this Part of the Question.

Zachariah Skillarne Deposeth, That he this Enformant taking a strict View of the Ditch where Sir Edmund's Body was found, he observed an Impression upon the Side of of the Ditch, about a Foot above the Bottom of it, according to the Best Judgment this Enfor-

mant is able to make of it, which he took to be the Dint of the Pummel of the Sword.

This is a Great Deal more then Needed, for the Killing of a *Dead Cause*: But the Plain Short of the Matter in fine, is neither Better nor Worfe, then *This*. If the Question of the *Ditch* has been *Omitted*, as a Point forgotten, 'tis such Another Slip as the Point that the *Atheistical Penitent* forgot in his *Confession*, which was, *That he did not Believe in God*; for it was the Key of the *Whole Work*. If it was pass'd over as a Thing not *Worth the minding*, it was a Case of *Bloud*, and might have born the *Charge of Interrogatory*, and *Debate*: Especially when so many *Lives* Depended upon the *Consequence* of a *Right*, or a *Mistaken Sentence*: But if it was neither of These Two, it was a Matter at *That Time*, perhaps, too *Hot* to be *Handled*; and 'tis a *Dangerous Thing* for People to be *Over-Inquisitive* into the *Truth* of a *Matter* that is *Design'd* for an *Imposture*. We shall pass now from what they *Did Not*, to what they *Did*, and so to the *Next Chapter*.

CHAP. XI.

The Jury found Sir E. B. Godfrey to be Strangled, and not Kill'd with the Sword: The Surgeons were of the same Opinion, and gave their Reasons for it.

UPON the *Evidence* and *View* of the *Body* of Sir E. B. Godfrey at the *White-House*, it appeared, upon the *Main*, that it was found at such a *Time* and *Place*, and with his *own Sword* thorough it. They

observ'd the *Limberness* of the Neck, and the *Two Circles* about it: His *Breſt* very much *Discolour'd*, as if it had been *Beaten*, or *Bruis'd*; *Two Wounds* under his *Left Pap*: One ſtopt at a *Rib*; the Other quite thorough the *Body*: They laid *Great Weight* upon it, that there was *No Bloud* found in the *Ditch*; and upon the main *Iſſue*, Whether he *Dy'd* by the *Wound*, or by *Suffocation*; or whether by his own *Hand*, or by some Other *Bodies*: After a *Long Debate*, and a *Great Deal* of *Jangling*, in *Due Courſe* and *Form*: The *Coroner* and his *Inqueſt* took the *Surgcons Advice* along with them, and in the *Concluſion* came to *This Reſult*.

That certain *Persons* to the *Jurors* unknown, a *Certain Piece* of *Linnen Cloth* of *No Value*, about the Neck of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, Then, and There, *Feloniously*, *Wilfully*, and of their *Malice* before thought, did *Cye* and *Faſſen*; and therewith the ſaid *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*, *Feloniously*, *Wilfully*, and of their *Malice* before thought, did *Suffocate* and *Strangle*, of which ſaid *Suffocation*, and *Strangling*, He the ſaid *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* Then and There *Instantly Dy'd*.

This is according to a *Printed Copy* of the *Verdict* published by *Janemay* in 1682. on the *Behalf* of the *Proſecutors* of *Mr. Pain* and *Mr. Farwell*, for *Publishing* certain *Letters* upon *This Subject*, directed to *Miles Prance*. I never heard the *Truth* of the *Copy* *Question'd*: Beſide, that when the *Bus'neſs* was *freſh*, the *Story* was in every *Bodies Mouth*, that he was *ſtrangled* with a *Linnen Cloth*; and no other way of *Suffocation* ſo much as mentioned: And That was the *True Reaſon*, of *Bedloe's Stiſling* him with a *Pillow*; to *Answer* the *Suffocation*; and of *Prance's* doing it with a *Twisted Handkercher*, to *Answer* the *Linnen Cloth*, which *Bedloe* afterward, very *Diſcreetly* turn'd into a *Crevat*; By the

Token, [*It was so streight that he could not get his Finger in.*] Now; the *Inquisition* taken by the *Coroner of Middlesex*, upon the *View* of the *Body* of *Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey*, according to a *True Copy* of it out of the *Crown Office*, which was *Sworn* and *read in Court*, upon the *Trial* of the *Gentlemen* before mentioned, says, that he was *Strangled* with a *Cord*, fol. 8. by *Persons Unkown*: But *Right or Wrong*, it must be *Strangling* at *Last*; for there was no way but *That* to bring him off from *Killing Himself*, which would have spoiled more *Plots* than *One*: though it was a *Huge way about*, for *People* to *Choak* him at *Somerfet-House*, and then carry him *Two Mile* out of *Town* at *Midnight* to run his *Sword* through him at *Primrose-Hill* for a *Pretence*; When there were so many convenient *Boughs*, and *Beams*, to have done his *Work Better Cheap*, nearer *Home*; The *Trussing* of him up to one of the *Timbers* in the *New Unfinished House*, where *Prance* swears he left the *Chair*, when they put him a *Horseback*, would have born a much better *Countenance* of his *Killing Himself*, then the *Leaving* of his *Body* in a *Ditch*, with the *Marks* of *Two Several Deaths* upon it at *Once*. When I say [*of Two Several Deaths*] which Implies the *Swallowing* of *Things Inconsistent*; I reflect no *Reproach*, either upon the *Surgeons*, or upon the *Jurors*; for the *Former* *Judg'd* according to *Common Appearances*; and the *Latter* were only *over-rul'd* by the *Opinions* of *Men* that spake in their own *Profession*. I do not say yet, that there was not a *Secret Practice*, and *Manage* that ran through this whole *Affair* from one *End* to the *Other*; but *Time*, and *Consideration*, upon the *Opening* of the *Fact* will better *Discover* that *Mystery*. The *Root*, in short, of this *Whole Miscarriage*, was the *removing* of the *Body*; Of which we have spoken sufficiently in the *Last Foregoing Chapter*. But now to the *Merits* of the *Cause*.

The

The Surgeons were of Opinion, upon the View of the Body at the White House (and in Truth for want of a View of it in the Ditch) that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled, and ~~Not~~ Kill'd by the Sword. The Jurors were Guided by the Surgeons, and accordingly they Agreed upon a Verdict. It will be well, in This Place, to consider the Matter of Fact, as it lay before them; their Judgments upon it, and the Inducements that mov'd them to Agree upon the above-mentioned Verdict. This will be best done, out of their Own Mouths. And to take the Matter in Order, We'll see first what they Deliver'd at the Coroners Inquest. 2ly. The Evidence they gave at the Tryals of Green, Berry, and Hill. And 3ly. The Short of what was Deliver'd at the Tryal of Mr. Pain, and Mr. Farwel. I call it a Tryal, with a Respect to the Sacredness of the Seat of Justice; though the Formalities of the Court were Interrupted, and the Dignity of the Tribunal Affronted, with such Clamours, and Insults from the Rabble, that a Man might Honestly enough, at a Distance, have taken it for a Bair-Bating.

The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath 18th. Day of October, 1678. before Me.

HE saith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, did in the Presence of the Coroner and Jury, Search the same; and finds, that he was strangled; And that he hath received some Violent Blow upon the top of his Breast; and this Enformant verily believes that the said Sir Edmund did ~~Not~~ Dye of the Wound through his Body.

To. Comper, Coroner.

Zac. Skillarn.

Zac.

Zacharias Skillarn Chirurgeon, being further Examined, saith, *That when he Searched Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side; which was One of the Occasions of his Death, as This Enformant believes.*

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Zac. Skillarn.

The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before Me.

This Enformant saith the same.

Jo. Cowper, Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

Here's the Judgment of the Surgeons upon Oath, before the Coroner, Octob. 18, 19. 1678. and their Evidence was much thereabouts, afterward, at the Tryal of the Pretended Murtherers, Feb. 10. 1678. But the Fairest way will be to Deliver the Colloquy at Large, for so much a concerns This Subject.

I shall only take Notice of One Artificial Insinuation by the Way. [We Desire (says Mr. Attorney) to call the Surgeons that View'd and OPEN'D the Body, Mr. Skillarn, and Mr. Cambridge, Tryal. fol. 30.] Now this was to possess the Audience with a Full Persuasion of the most Reasonable Thing in the World, and that the Body had been Open'd Indeed. Whereas there was No Opening of the Body; but on the contrary, the Thing was Mov'd and Desir'd, but the Brothers would not Permit it; and Mr. Hobbs (as he told me very Frankly, with his own Lips) was Absolutely for it; for, says he, upon the Opening of the Body, you should have known as well what Death he Dy'd, as if you had seen it. But now to the Evidence.

Mr.

Mr. Att. G. Did you observe his Breast? how was it?

Mr. Skillarn.] His Breast was All beaten with some Obtuse Weapon, either with the Feet, or Hands, or Something.

Mr. Att. G.] Did you observe his Neck?

Mr. Skillarn.] Yes, It was Distorted.

Mr. Att. G.] How far?

Mr. Skillarn.] You might have taken the Chin, and have set it upon either Shoulder.

Mr. Att. G.] Did you Observe the Wound?

Mr. Skillarn. Yes I did. It went in at one place, and Stopt at a Rib; the Other Place, it was quite through the Body.

Mr. Att. G.] Do you think he was kill'd by That Wound?

Mr. Skillarn. No; for then there would have been some Evacuation of Bloud, which there was Not: And besides; his Bosom was open, and he had a Flannel Waistcoat and a Shirt on; and neither Those, nor any of his Clothes were Penetrated.

Mr. Att. Gen.] But are you Sure his Neck had been Broken?

Mr. Skillarn.] Yes, I am sure.

Mr. Att. G.] Because some have been of Opinion, that he Hang'd Himself, and his Relations to Save his Estate, run him through; I would desire to ask the Chirurgion what he Thinks of it.

M. Skillarn.] There was more done to his Neck then an Ordinary Suffocation; the Wound went through his very Heart; and there would have appear'd some Bloud, if it had been done quickly after his Death.

Mr. Att. G.] Did it appear by the View of the Body, that he was Strangled or Hang'd?

Mr. Skillarn.] He was a Lean Man, and his Muscles, if he had died of the Wound, would have been Turgid; And Then again, All Strangled People never Swell,
be-

because there is a Sudden Deprivation of all the Spirits, and a hindring of the Circulation of the Bloud.

Mr. Att. G.] How long do you believe he might be dead before you saw him?

Mr. Skillarn.] I believe, four or five days. And they might have kept him a Week, and he never Swell'd at All, being a Lean Man. And when we Ript him up, he began for to Putrify; we made two Incisions to give it Vent; and the Liquor that was in his Body did a Little Smell. The very Lean Flesh was so near turn'd into Putrefaction, that it Stuck to the Instrument when we Cut it.

Mr. Recorder.] My Lord, here is another Chirurgion, Mr. Cambridge; Pray Sir are you Sworn?

Mr. Cambridge.] Yes, I am.

Mr. Recorder.] When did you see the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?

Mr. Cambridge.] Upon Friday; the very day the Gentleman did. I found his Neck Dislocated, and his Breast very much Beaten, and Bruised. And I found Two Punctures under his left Pap; the one went against the Rib, the other quite through the Body under the Left Pap.

Mr. Att. G. Do you believe That Wound was the Occasion of his Death?

Mr. Cambridge.] No; I believe it was given him after his Death.

L. C. J.] And his Neck was Broke?

Mr. Cambridge.] His Neck was Dislocated, Sir.

The Matter here Under Consideration was the Distortion of his Neck, His Bruises; No Evacuation of Bloud; The Appearance of his Muscles; Inſomuch, that they both Agree that the Wound was given him after his Death; And the Bruises are preſum'd to have been Occaſion'd by the Blows he received from the Murtherers upon Struggling to Defend himſelf. The Reader is here to take Notice, that Mr. Skillarne, and

Cam-

Cambridge, were the Two only Surgeons that were taken in for Assistants to the Coroner. But however, that there were others Call'd-in who saw him by the By, to give Evidence afterward upon a Tryal at Guild-hall, June 20. 1682. As Mr. Hobbs, The Two Mr. Chaces, Father and Son; Mr. Lazenby. Mr. Hobbs's Part was This.

L. C. Justice.] Had you any doubt whether he was Murther'd?

Mr. Hobbs.] Indeed my Lord, I thought he was Strangled; That was my Opinion; I can't tell Whether I was Mistaken. I said to Dr. Goodal, it would be very well if Mr. Godfrey would send for a Surgeon, and a Physician from the Court, and Others from the City, to SATISFY ALL PERSONS.

Mr. Farwell.] What Colour was his Face?

Mr. Hobbs.] My Lord, it was Bloated.

L. C. J. Did it look as if Violence had been Us'd to him?

Mr. Hobbs.] Ay my Lord; and the Bloudy Vessels of his Eyes were so full, as if he had been Troubled with Sore Eyes. Tryal of Nathaniel Thompson, &c. fol. 23, 24.

The Evidence that the Two Mr. Chaces gave upon the Matter here in Question, was to This Effect. Mr. Chace the Son, upon Fryday Morning View'd the Ditch, and saw No Bloud in't. He saw the Body in the House; Two Wounds; A Contusion on the Left Ear. He Believ'd he was Strangled, and those Injuries done after he was Dead.

Mr. Chace the Father saw the Body at the White-House on Fryday; a Contusion, and Two Wounds; And the Next day he saw a Swelling on his Left Ear, as if a Knot had been Ty'd, fol. 24.

Mr. Lazenby took him to be Strangled, and gave his Reasons. There was Bloud Four Yards from the Ditch, that

that Smelt as Strong as if he had been Dead a Fortnight; He Believ'd he was Strangled: His Stomach and Breast were much Discolour'd, and Black, and his Mouth Discolour'd. He went up-stairs to Drink a Glass of Beer, and was Call'd down again to see Two Great Creases about his Neck, being told that young Mr. Chace had Unbutton'd the Collar. So being come down, he put the Collar together, and Perceived the Collar made a Mark, like a Streight Ring upon a Finger; the Neck being Swell'd above the Collar, and Below, by the Strangling with a Chord, or Cloth, Tryal, fol. 25, 26.

I must observe here by the way now, that my Citations are from a Tryal Printed by the Lord Chief Justice Pemberton's Order. There was Another Pretended Account of the same Tryal: Published without Order, and said to be Printed for William Mason; Wherein by way of Abstract, the Evidence against the Pris'ners is strain'd, and Falsified, and being much Harder upon them, then That in the Authentique Tryal, 'tis to be presum'd, that for the Honour of the Court, Nothing was Omitted that might give Reputation to the Justice of the Proceeding.

I must take Notice again, that there's an Appendix of Affidavits and Observations Annexed to the Licens'd Tryal in the Course of Signature, and Folio, to support the Credit of Prance's Evidence, which looks as if the Whole had been Printed by the same Authority; Whereas my Lord Chief Justice only Licens'd the Tryal. These surreptitious Pieces are of No Weight; and it is but reason to Reject what is Spurious on the one side, as it is Fair to Allow the Uttermost Force of All that has been, or can be said on the Other. There was a Great stir made about Fly-blows, or No Fly-blows, and whether his eyes were shut, or Open. But I shall Touch upon Those Points as they fall in My Way, with-

without laying more stress upon the Matter then 'tis Worth.

To do Right to All People, and to All Things; and to All Purposes, I must Recommend here one Note to the Reader, upon the Testimonies Deliver'd, and as they are here represented by the Gentlemen above Named. They do Not speak to the *Whole History* of the *Bus'ness*, according to the *Literal strictness* of the *Oath*, or *Duty* of an *Evidence*, so as to Expatriate upon All the Minutes of their *Knowledge*, or *Thoughts*, as to the Thing in Question, but according to the *Equity*, and the *Intent* of *Publique Justice*; For the Court puts the *Questions*; and it is *their Part*, Truly to Answer them, without running into Matters *Forreign* to the *Interrogatory*. They Believ'd, upon what they had in Sight, that he was strangled; and so That was a *safe*, and *Convenient Question*: and the Signs of it about his Neck, were improv'd in favour of *That Opinion*; if he had Dy'd of the *Wound*, they say, there would have been a Great Evacuation of *Bloud*; and so the *Question* upon That Point, was, in a Manner *Restrain'd* to the *Ditch*: only some *superficial Enquiries* about the *Dreining* of it at the *White-house* into the *Celler*, and the like: As if the *Evacuation* of a *Gallon* of *Bloud*, in *Another Place*, were not as *Competent* a *Ground* to *Conclude* upon, as *One Drop* of *Bloud* in the *Ditch*: But if These Gentlemen had had the *Body* before them, in the *Ditch*, as they had it in the *House*, they would never have troubled themselves, with his Neck; his *Bruises*, or his *Circles*, having so *Demonstrative* a *Certainty* of the *True Cause* of his *Death*, before them: For there was not any *Part* about him; Not so much as a *Finger*, that they would not have read the *Workings* of *Nature* in. There would have been No Doubt, in fine, Whether he Dy'd by a *Sword*, or by a *Crevat*; but *Who Kill'd* him might perchance have Yielded Matter for *Another Question*.

if they could have thought it Possible for *Mortal Hands* to have *Drawn* so *Accurate*, and *Natural* a *Counterfeit* of a *Man* that had *Kill'd Himself*. To *Conclude*; the *Surgeons* were *Consulted* in their *Faculty*, upon what *Appear'd* to Them, without any *Obligation* upon them to *Pronounce* upon a *Fact* that was *Wholly* out of their *Ken*: As if a *Man* should ask the *Judgment* of the *College of Physicians*, concerning such or such a *Disease*. They may be *Great Philosophers*, and *Doctors*, and yet *Mistake* the *Distemper*; and much more lyable were *These Gentlemen* to a *Mistake*, upon the *Judgment* of *This Justice's Death*. In one Word more; *This Evidence* was *Effectually*, but the *Repeating* of a *Lesson*, and the saying of the same Things over again, which they had *Declar'd* before: They were, in Truth, *Leading Questions* that Required *Following Answers*; and, as it happen'd, there was not *One Interrogatory* that came near the *Quick*. I will add one Word more; and so make an end of *This Chapter*. I am, myself, *Perfwaded*, that there were such *Signs of Suffocation*, as if his *Body* had been found Hung up in a *Room* with a *Sword* thorough it, and an *Effusion* of *Bloud* upon the *Floor* too, supposing the *Wound* before he was quite *Dead*, one might have at least divided the *Death*, betwixt the *Sword*, and the *Halter*: But upon the finding of a *Sword* through a *Body* in a *Ditch*, and in such a *Position* too; and *No visible*, or *Hardly Imaginable Hanging* in the *Case*; to *Conclude*, that he was *strangled*, and that the *Sword* had *No Part* in his *Death*, was a Thing, that Most *Infalibly* *These Gentlemen* would never have *Agreed* to, at least 'till they had satisfy'd themselves that there was *No Possibility* of any *Other Cause* for *Those Signs of Suffocation*; and 'till they had *fully Consider'd*, whether there Might not be something of *Equivalence* to such a *Suffocation*, in the *Circumstances* of the *State*, and *Condition* wherein they found him.

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C H A P. XII.

The Juror's Reasons for the Verdict they gave, upon the View of Sir E. B. Godfrey's Body.

Thomas Harris Deposeth, That He this Enformant, some few Days after Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went Last from his House, heard that he was Missing; And saith, That the said Sir Edmund's Body being found Dead in a Ditch, at, or near Prim-rose-Hill, He this Enformant was Summon'd upon the Coroners Inquest to attend at the White-House, near the said Primrose-Hill, where there were Two Persons suppos'd to be Surgeons, to View, and to Probe the Body. The One's Name was Cambridge; The Other this Enformant doth not know. The said Surgeons, upon Examining the Body, found Two Wounds, which they said they Believ'd were given after the Body was Dead. And observing a Streak about his Neck, they said they Believed he was First Suffocated, and some time afterward, run Through. And this Enformant did not take Notice of any other Surgeons there, then Those Aforesaid. The matter was there Debated by the Jurors, who were not as yet satisfied how he should come to his End: There being Evidence of the Place, and the Manner of finding him, but None of the Particular Manner of his Death. So that the Jury Adjourn'd till they should have a Further Summons.

Upon Saturday the Day following, the Jury met again at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they came, after a Long Debate, to a Verdict, Agreeing, that the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled by Persons Unknown, &c.

And being further asked, How it came to pass, that this Enformant, and the Jury, not being satisfied in the Man-

ner of the said Sir Edmund's Death, by any Proofs at the White-House, they came Now to be better Satisfy'd therein, at the Rose and Crown, then they were Before: To which, this Enformant maketh Answer, That an Oyl-man, and Some Others made Oath, That they saw him in the Strand about Twelve or One upon the Day that he was First Missing.

And being further Asked, How they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when there was No Linnen Cloth found, and not rather Kill'd with his own Sword, which was found through him: This Enformant Answereth, That the Surgeons told them, That if he had been run through first, there could never have been a Suffocation Afterwards.

John Cowley Deposeth, That there were Two Surgeons call'd to View, and Examine the Body, who gave their Opinions upon Oath, (to the best of this Enformants Memory) that he was Suffocated, which they Gather'd from a Circle about his Neck, and the setting of the Bloud about his Breast.

They did not come to a Verdict at That Meeting; But the Coroner told them, that for several Reasons, they should at present Adjourn.

After the Adjournment abovesaid, the Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, the next Day, where they stay'd till very Late That Night, before they gave up their Verdict.

And this Enformant being Interrogated, if they found a Linnen Cloth about him: This Enformant Answereth, That he neither saw, nor heard of any.

And this Enformant being Interrogated, if there was any Proof made to the Jury of the Body being found Dead with a Sword through it, This Enformant maketh Answer, That it was Prov'd upon Oath.

And This Enformant being further Interrogated, how they came to find him Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, when no Linnen Cloth there appear'd ; and why they did not find him to Dye of his Wounds, when 'twas Prov'd upon Oath, that the Body was found with a Sword through it? He this Enformant maketh Answer, That by the Opinion of the Surgeons, and the Appearance of the Body, they Judg'd that he was Strangled. And touching the Wound given by the Sword, this Enformant Judged that the Wound could not be his Death ; because he saw No Bloud follow.

Joseph Gisle Deposeth, That being Summoned, &c. One Mrs. Blith, and her Man of St. Giles's, made Oath, They, or One of them had been upon Wednesday up and down thereabouts (where the Body was found) looking for a Calf newly fall'n ; And that at that time, they did not see any Dead Body. This being Wednesday when Sir E. B. Godfrey was Missing. And saith, That the Jurors complain'd much of waiting so long, and Desir'd to be Dismissed ; but the Coroner, John Cowper, urged the staying of it out, till they should see what Evidence would come in.

Thomas Wollams Deposeth, That he was Summoned, &c. And that there were Two Surgeons with the Jury, upon the View of the Body ; Who, upon Examination of the Circumstances, Declar'd upon their Oaths, That they Believed the Body was Suffocated ; Giving these Reasons for it, that there was a Circle about the Neck ; The Bloud was Setled within the Skin, and his Neck seemed to be Wrenched. They did not come to a Verdict at That Sitting ; but put it off to another Sitting.

Simon Standen Deposeth, that he being Summoned, &c. and the Jury Sworn, they went All, or the greater Part of them,

them, and this Enformant, one of the Number, to View the Place where the Body was found ; and so Return'd to Sit upon the Body. There were Two Persons, one Cambridge, a Surgeon, and Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon also, to View, and to Examine the said Body, who Delivered their Opinion upon their Oaths, That they Believed that the said Sir Edmund did ~~not~~ Dye of the Wound by the Sword ; but that he was Strangled. For his Breast was Black and Bruised ; And there was a Lift about his Neck : His Neck Limber, and his Chin turn'd upon his Left Shoulder, to the best of This Enformants Memory. That by This Opinion of the Surgeons, and their declaring that he did not Dye by the Wound of the Sword, This Enformant, and others of the Jury (as he Believes) were Persuaded to be of the same Opinion, That he did not Dye of the Wound of the Sword.

And This Enformant saith, That they did not come to a Verdict at the White-House ; But there being a great Crowd of People, and No Evidence as yet appearing (as this Enformant Remembers) but the Two Surgeons, and Mr. Collins, who said that he saw him on the Day that he was First Missing about Nine or Ten a Clock in the Morning, near a Barn of the said Mr. Collins's, hard by Marybone Church ; the Jury was coming at that time to a Verdict. That the Day following, in the Afternoon, the said Jury met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, where they sate from the Afternoon, till past Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict.

This Enformant being Interrogated, what Evidence they had at the Rose and Crown, more then they had before at the White-House, to make them think that the Sword was not the Cause of his Death : This Enformant Answereth, That a Shop-keeper, with his Wife, and some body else, gave Enformation upon Oath, That they had seen the said Sir Edmund at the Door of the said Shop-keeper ;

about Twelve a Clock at Noon the First Day that Sir Edmund was Milling ; by which, it appear'd, that the said Sir Edmund was back again in London, after Mr. Collins had seen him about Marybone.

Anthony Fryer Deposeth, being Summoned, &c. That there were Two Persons, said to be Surgeons, that had the View of, and the Probing of the Body. The Name of the One was Nicholas Cambridge, but the Name of the Other this Enformant doth not Remember : And that upon the Probing of the said Body, they gave their Opinion that the Wounds were made after he was Dead ; which, to This Enformants Remembrance, Mov'd This Enformant, and Others, to be of the same Opinion too.

And this Enformant saith, That the Surgeons afore-said were with the Jury again at the Rose and Crown, (to the best of his Knowledge ;) And that the said Surgeons Declar'd they Believ'd he was Strangled with a Napkin, or Some such Thing, which this Enformant saith, was the Only Reason, together with the Circle about his Neck, that Induc'd This Enformant to be of That Opinion.

Robert Trotton being Summoned, &c. Deposeth, That being ask'd upon what Evidence they found the said Sir Edmund to be Strangled with a Linnen Cloth, the Body being found with a Sword through it, and no Linnen Cloth appearing, This Enformant maketh Answer, That He and the Jury could not tell what to Think on't, it was so Ticklish a Bus'ness : But the Two Surgeons, One Nicholas Cambridge, and Another, saying, that it was done by some Linnen Cloth, Sway'd the Jury to find it so. And that This Enformant verily Believeth, that if the said Surgeons had not given their Opinions, that he was kill'd by a Linnen Cloth, the Jury would have given up the Verdict, that it was done with his own Sword.

And further, That this Enformant doth not Remember any more Surgeons upon the View of the Body with the Jurors, then the Two before spoken of : And he Remembreth that the said Surgeons were with the Jury, both at the White-House, and at the Rose and Crown ; And that the Jurors were strongly of Opinion that the said Sir Edmund was Kill'd with the Sword that was found in his Body, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons Prevail'd upon them, to give their Verdict Another way.

John Davis Deposeth, That this Enformant was Summon'd to appear upon the Coroners Inquest at the White-House near Primrose-Hill ; And there to sit upon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, which was found Dead near that Place : And This Enformant went thither accordingly, where He this Enformant saw the said Body lying upon the Table ; And likewise saw Two Persons there, which he took to be Surgeons.

And saith, That the said Jurors were discoursing how the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his End : And that This Enformant did not understand by any thing he heard there, nor did he ever understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death.

And that the said Jury was Adjourn'd from the White-House ; and likewise that the Coroner there Declar'd, that the said Body might be bury'd.

And this Enformant remembreth, that the said Jury sat again at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields ; And that there they sat Late in the Night, 'till they deliver'd up their Verdict.

And saith, That this Enformant, by all that Pass'd There, could not understand how the said Sir Edmund came by his Death ; Neither did he find by any of his Fellow Jurors, how he came by his Death.

And This Enformant Remembreth, that in Discoursing upon the said Body ; Some were of Opinion that he Mur-

thex'd Himself; Others, that it was done by the Hands of some Other Person, or Persons.

Philip Wyman Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That there was One Cambridge a Surgeon there; and Another Person who they say was a Profess'd Surgeon, whom This Enformant did not know, which Two Surgeons did upon their Oaths take a View of, and Examine the Body, Lancing the Breast, and the Neck, Declaring their Opinions upon the View and Examination of the said Body; That it was Impossible for the said Sir Edmund to do That of Himself, but that it was done by other Hands; And that he Dy'd by Suffocating, by something that was Broad, the Circle it Self being very Broad. The Crowd of People being very Great, and the Jurors desirous to get what Enformation they could, they were Adjourn'd for that Time without coming to a Verdict.

The Jury met Next at the Rose and Crown at St. Giles's in the Fields, Where they sat from the Afternoon till about Midnight, before they gave up their Verdict; The Two Surgeons before Spoken of, Continuing in the same Opinion that they were before.

And This Enformant being Interrogated, what Objections were Mov'd upon the Debate before they came to a Verdict, Maketh Answer, That some said perhaps he might Murther Himself; some that perhaps the Sword might Kill him; Others that he was Strangled: But they All Agreed at last in the same Verdict.

Thomas Mason Deposeth, being Summon'd, That there was one Cambridge a Surgeon to view the Body; And Likewise Another Person Unknown to this Enformant, who they said was a Surgeon; which said Surgeons gave their Opinion, that the Sword was not the Death of him; But that he was Strangled. That there was a Debate upon the Matter; But the Prefs being Troublesome, and the
Persons

Persons that found the Body, not Present, the Jury brake up from the White-House.

That on the Next day, being Saturday, the Jury Met at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles's in the Fields, about Five in the Afternoon; And that they sat 'til Four in the Morning, before they Agreed upon the Verdict.

And moreover, This Enformant saith, That the said Radcliffe and his Wife Swore they saw him about One a Clock, on the aforesaid Saturday, when Sir Edmund was first Missing, and Ask'd him to Dine with them.

Thomas Hartwell Deposeth, being Summon'd, &c. That the Neck of the said Body being so Limber, that it would not lye Upright upon the Table; This Enformant Believerb (to the Best of his Memory) that there were Surgeons sent for; And that there came two Persons, One Cambridge, whom This Enformant knew to be a Surgeon, and the Other This Enformant did not know; The said Surgeons feeling, and viewing the Body about the Neck, and finding the Neck to be Limber, and a Green List round it, They the said Surgeons gave their Opinions that the said Body was Strangled.

This Enformant further saith, That upon the Surgeons Declaring Themselves in Manner as Aforesaid, He This Enformant was Induc'd to be of That Opinion: But the Crowd being very Great, and the Jury desiring to be better Inform'd, they Rose without Coming to a Verdict.

And this Enformant saith, That the Juries next Meeting was at the Rose and Crown in St. Giles'es in the Fields, where they had a Long Debate before they gave up their Verdict.

This Enformant remembreth, that there was Sometime or other a Dispute betwixt the Two Coroners, but doth not remember upon what Point, nor the Circumstances of the Dispute; Neither can he be Positive, that it was about the Body that was there in Question.

And

And saith, That the Surgeons gave for the Reason of their Opinions, that the Neck was Limber, and Broken, And a Circle of Bloud Settled about the Neck ; And That This Enformant Believeth, that the Jury relyed upon the Surgeons Opinion, believing that they Understood the Matter better then the Jurors. The Surgeons also saying, That they Believed he was Strangled with a Cloth, the Circle would not have been so Broad else.

I am Now to Observe, upon This Evidence, *First*, That the *Verdict* was not Carry'd so *Clear* as the *World* has been made to *Believe* : For after *so many Hours* *Sitting* at the *White-House* upon the *Friday*, they were forc'd to *Adjourn* the *Debate* to the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Giles's*, and to make *Another Days Work* on't ; Nay, and it was far into *Sunday Morning* too, before they *Agreed* their *Verdict*.

It must not be pass'd over in the *Second Place*, What was the *True Reason* of their putting it off. *Harrie* said the Jury were not satisfied, and so *Adjourn'd*. *Cowsey* says, they could not agree *That Point*, and the *Coroner Adjourn'd* for several Reasons [*Best known to Himself.*] *Wyanes* says, they *Adjourn'd* for *Better Enformation* ; And so says *Hartwell*. But they *Adjourn'd*, in fine, for want of *Full Enformation*. They came next day together again, according to that *Adjournment*, and sat out the *Debate* 'till it came to a *Verdict*, which presumes that they had now gotten the *Better Enformation*, which they wanted before : And what *That Enformation* was, is the Thing next to be Consider'd.

C H A P. XIII.

The Jury Adjourn'd the Debate for want of Evidence : Quere what Better Evidence they had the Next Day when they came to a Verdict, than was Produc'd the Day before?

THE Question in Debate is shortly This : By *What Death*, or by *What Hand* Sir E. B. Godfrey Dy'd. The Jury were Divided, the *First Day* for want of *Competent Information*; and their Coming to a Resolution the day following, Supposes an *Additional*, or a *Supplemental Evidence*, which must be either in *Proof of Fact*, or upon the *Force of Fair Inference*, or *Pregnant Presumption* : so that in a Train of Thought it comes Naturally now to be Enquir'd into, what *New Inducements* or *Enformations*, they received, the *Second day* toward the *Presumption* of his being *Strangled*, over and above what they had the *Day before*. The Business of the *Wounds* given *after he was Dead*, the *Streak* or *Circle* about his *Neck*; the *Setling* of his *Bloud* about the *Breast*, the *Wrenching* and the *Limberness* of his *Neck*; *No Evacuation of Bloud*; These were the Circumstances, as Appears by the *Jurors Themselves*, that the *Surgeons* Declar'd to be the *Reasons*, why they Concluded him to be *Strangled*; And it must be with a *Napkin* or some *Linmen Cloth*, they said, to Answer the *Breadth* of the *List* about his *Neck*. Now if the *Jurors* had All This before them on the *Friday*, And that Neither the *Opinion* of the *Surgeons*, nor the *View* of the *Body*, nor Both Together could Prevail upon the *Jury That Day* to find him *Strangled*; the *Same Reasons* over again, Unless otherwise and better Supported, cannot be Decently Understood to have had more Power upon their *Minds*,
and

and *Understanding* upon the *Saturday* then they had on *Friday*: So that the *Jurors* are Now to tell us what *Wonderful Revelation* they had the *Day Following*, to *Clear This Mystery*; Only a Word or Two, Previous to That Point.

William Collins and *Thomas Mason*, Both *Jury-Men* saw *Sir Edmund* That *Saturday Morning*, The Former about *Nine of the Clock* talking with a *Milk-woman* near *Paddington*; The Other coming from *Paddington-Ward*, toward *London*, about *Eleven*, That Morning. We shall now see what it was that Sway'd the *Verdict*.

They were mov'd to the *Verdict* (says *Mr. Harris*) by an *Oylman*, and Others that saw him at *Twelve*. They sat *Long* (says *Mr. Standever*) and an *Oylman* and his *Wife* shew'd he was come back again. *Mr. Mason* says the same Thing too.

Now the Question was, upon the Evidence before the *Jury*, whether he was *Strangled*, or *Kill'd* with a *Sword*. They could not, it seems, agree upon the Matter, 'till they found that *Mr. Radcliffe*, and Others had Seen him about *One of the Clock* in the *Strand* near *Charing-Cross* That day that *Collins* had Seen him near *Paddington* in the *Morning*: and from hence they draw a Conclusion, he was *Strangled*. And why might they not as reasonably have *Inferr'd* from the Proof of his Coming back again, that he Dy'd by the *Sword*, as by the *Linnen Cloth*? Beside that it was in Every bodies Mouth, before ever they came to a *Verdict*, that Several People had seen him in his way toward *Paddington* back again: But we shall have a Better Occasion to look into This Particular, when we come to Discourse of the *Witnesses* that were made use of, and of Those that were Not, and into the *Merits* of That Evidence. In the Mean While, the *Jurors* were, in Effect, Totally led by the *Surgeons*.

The Surgeons told us so (says Mr. Harris) The Surgeons Judg'd him strangled, says Mr. Cowsey: And so says Mr. Woollams: The Opinion of the Surgeons sway'd the Jury, says Mr. Standever. The Surgeons Opinion mov'd Mr. Fryer, Mr. Trotton, and effectually, All the Rest.

But All This had no Effect upon the Jury the First day; Nay the Jurors (says Mr. Trotton) were strongly of opinion that he was kill'd with the Sword, 'till the Earnestness of the Surgeons prevail'd with them to give their Verdict Another way. Mr. Davies Declares that Neither He nor Any of his Fellow-Jurors were satisfy'd in the Bus'ness. But some would have it that he Kill'd Himself; Others, that he was Murther'd by some body else.

So much for the Point of the Surgeons leading the Jury; and it remains now to Examine the Weight of Those Reasons that Wrought upon the Surgeons, which I shall Handle with All due respects to their Abilities, to their Integrity, and to their Profession. Let me be Understood here, to Comprehend All Those Persons of Name and of Mark, that have Deliver'd their thoughts upon This Subject, occasionally, and by the By, as well as Those Gentlemen that Assisted more Immediately to the Attending of This Office. To say the Plain Truth of the Matter, the Surgeons had but half a sight of the Case, and Consequently, could make but half a Judgment upon the Thing in Question. Nothing is more Ordinary, then for Learned and Practical Physicians, upon a Consult to say, If I had known, or seen This or That Accident, I should have taken it to have been such or such a Disease; and most Undoubtedly, (as I have Hinted already) they would have made quite Another Judgment upon the Body in the Ditch, then they did upon the Table. But to give as much as can be Granted, or I might have said as much as can be Demanded in the then Present state of Things; The very Conjecture, or
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Probability of a Suffocation, was as much almost, as the Matter would bear ; And it had need of being *very well seconded*, even to *Warrant the Sentence of a Bare Likelyhood*. As for Instance, now.

There is *Great Weight* laid upon the *Limberness*, the *Twisting*, or the *Wrenching* of the *Neck*, as some of the *Jurors* have worded it ; or the *Dislocating* of it, according to the *Surgeons*. They All spoke of *Greens Twisting his Neck*, says *Prance*, Tryal, fol. 17.] And from hence they Infer that he was *strangled*. Now the *Fallacy* of This *Inference* lyes so open, that Every *Nurse*, and *Searcher* here about the Town is Infinitely better able to speak to't, upon *Experience*, then the *Whole Council of Surgeons Hall* can pretend to ; if they take upon them to speak only by *Book*.

Robert White Deposeth, that being desired to speak his *Observations upon Dead Bodies*, Concerning the *Limberness of their Necks*, as if their Necks were Broken ; and whether or No he hath taken Notice of such a *Limberness of the Neck* in Ordinary Cases ; He This Enformant maketh Answer, That he hath seen several Bodies, which upon the First Apprehension seemed to have their Necks Broken, and Dislocated ; but that upon Examination of Evidence, He This Enformant hath found the Necks of several Bodies to be very Loose and Limber, that have been Destroy'd by Wounds in Other Places.

Mary Smith, and *Sarah Moreton*, Searchers of the *Parish of St. Martins in the Fields*, Joyntly Depose, that These Enformants being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, they These Enformants find the Necks of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber : They make Answer, that they find the Necks of such Bodies both Ways ; some, Stiff ; and some, Limber : And that they these Enformants, in token of the Truth

Truth of This, their Observation, do Joyntly affirm, That it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, That if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Family.

And further the Enformants being asked, in what Manner they find the Loosness of the Neck in Those Bodies, where the Neck is Limber as aforesaid; They make Answer, That they find the Necks, some Limberer then Others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from shoulder to shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and fro.

And These Enformants Joyntly say, that when they have come to search Bodies that have been a Day Dead or so; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the shoulder or Body, in an Ill Posture; It is a hard thing to put it in Order; But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.

And they say Joyntly likewise, that they find such Bodies as aforesaid, some Limber and some Stiff, but (as they Believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for One Limber.

And they say Joyntly, that they have seen a Corps whereof the Neck was Broken, and that the Chin was turn'd directly behind upon the Back.

Alice Wicks, and Elizabeth Belcher, Searchers of the Parish of St. Giles's in the Fields Joyntly Depose, that being asked whether in their Observation of Bodies that Dye a Natural Death; They These Enformants find the Necks of such Bodies as aforesaid, either Stiff, or Limber; They make Answer, that they find the Necks of such Bodies, Both Ways, some stiff, and some limber: And that they these Enformants, in token of the Truth of this their Observation, do Joyntly Affirm, that it is a Common saying among the Generality of People, that if the Neck of the Corps be Loose, some others will shortly Dye out of the Family.

And

And further; These Enformants being Asked in what Manner they find the Loosness of the Neck in Those Bodies, Where the Neck is Limber, as aforesaid; They make answer, That they find the Necks some Limberer then others, and very often that the Chin will be turn'd from Shoulder to Shoulder, and that it will Waggle to and Fro.

And These Enformants Joynly say, that when they have come to search Bodies, that have been a Day Dead or so; And that they have found the Head Leaning upon the Shoulder, or the Body in an Ill Posture, it is a hard thing to put it in Order: But when they come soon after the Body is Dead, it is much Easier to put it in Order.

And they say Joynly likewise, that they find such Bodies as aforesaid, some Limber, and some Stiff, but (as they believe) Ten Bodies Stiff for one Limber.

Alice Weeks Deposeth apart, that going to search the Body of a Child, she found the Neck of it Broken, and that the Chin of the said Child was Turn'd quite round to the Back.

This Account of the Searchers, agrees exactly, as well in the Negative as in the Affirmative with the Story of Sir Godfrey's Body. All People agree that they Could and did Turn the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder; but there's Not a Word of turning it about to the Back, which the Searchers observ'd, might have been done, if the Neck was Broken; and Undoubtedly, they that turn'd it to the Shoulder, if it had not stop'd There, would have gone further in it.

But then the Streaks, the Lifts and the Creases about the Neck, as they call them, were look'd upon as strong Presumptions that he Dy'd by Suffocation, not so much as Accidents, simply Arising from the Choking of him, as the Impression, that the straining of the Rope or Linnen Cloth with which he was strangled, had Left behind it upon the Part.

I had a Fair Occasion of some Discourse upon This Point with Mr. *Hobbs*, who had not seen the Body, it seems, either in the *Ditch*, or at the *White-House*, but only after the Removal of it to *Hartshorn-Lane*. He told me that upon the View of the Body, he thought it to be Strangled: My Answer, I remember, was This, in Effect, that I my self was Partly of That Opinion; for considering the Depth, the Straitness, and the Stiffness of his Collar, and the Pressing of his Throat upon it, which, of Necessity, must bear hard in That Position of his Body: The very Force and Oppression of the Posture he was found in, would have been Sufficient, in a very short time, to have Choaked him, even without his Wounds; but the Suffocation then follow'd the Sword, not the Sword the Suffocation, and the One Produced the Accidents of the Other. The Gentleman, for the Purpose, fell upon his Sword; The Stab was Mortal; but the Fall yet cast the Body into such a Disposition of the Several Parts of it, that it Superinduc'd the Signs of Strangling, over and above the Deadly Effect of the Wound: So that it stands with very good Reason, that he might be Really Kill'd with the Sword, and yet at the same time appear to be Choak'd: And under favour, the Scene of the Ditch, duly consider'd, the Presumptions were Twenty times more, and stronger for the Former, then for the Latter. Mr. *Hobbs* was pleas'd to Agree in Opinion, that such a Collar, and such Circumstances might well be the Cause of such an Appearance: But we'll see now what Mr. *Skillarne* and Mr. *Lasinby* say to the Matter.

Zachariah Skillarne Deposes, That upon the Friday Morning Early, being the Next Day to the Evening whereon the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant heard a Rumour of the finding of the said Body, and the Place where 'twas found. And that

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soon afterward, on the same Morning, he This Enformant by a Message from the Two Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, was given to understand that they Desired his Company to go along with them to View the Body; And He This Enformant went accordingly, in a Coach with the Brothers aforesaid, as near as they could come to the White-House; And there they Alighted, This Enformant with One of the Brothers, going a-foot to the Place where they were told the said Body was Found.

This Enformant observed the Limbs of the Body to be Loose, and No Stiffness upon them; Having also observed, that the Bodies of Persons that are Hang'd, or Strangled, are always Limber; Whereas Bodies that Dye a Natural Death, are always Stiff, except in Apoplexies. There was also one Mr. Cambridge upon the View of the said Body, who Agreed in Opinion with this Enformant.

This Enformant being asked, what Induc'd him to Believe that the said Body was Strangled: He This Enformant gave these following Reasons. The Person Living being a Man of a Pale Countenance, His Cheeks Flaccid, His Lips Thin, His Nose Sharp, and his Eyes Hollow: The said Sir Edmund being Dead, his Lips and Cheeks were Turgid, and Tumesfy'd, His Nose bigger, and Red; His Eyes Prominent, and a Circle about his Neck.

Richard Lashby Surgeon, Deposeth, That this Enformant went with some Company out of Curiosity to see the Dead Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, at the White-House near Primrose-Hill, where it lay upon the Table the Collar not as yet Unbutton'd: But this Enformant going out of the Room to refresh Himself after his Walk, and leaving a Crowd of People there, was soon after call'd back again to see the Neck of the said Sir Edmund, his Collar being Then Unbutton'd.

And

And this Enformant upon his Return, being asked what he thought of the Two Marks above and below, being just the Breadth of the Collar, which was a Deep Striff Collar ; It being Suggested to this Enformant, that they were the Marks of Ropes ; He this Enformant gave his Opinion, that they were the Marks of the Edges of the Collar, and that the Swelling of the Neck, and the Breast was so Great above and below the Collar, that it occasioned Those Marks like a Ring upon a Swoln Finger.

And this Enformant having seen the Dead Body as aforesaid, and spoken his Thoughts upon it, went out of the Room again, and after sometime passing backward through the said Room, he this Enformant observed, that the Swelling of the Breast had Discharged it self into the Lower Crease, so that the Crease was hardly Perceivable. The Face all this While was Ruddy and Swell'd, excepting Two Places, one by his Mouth, and Another by his Temples, that seem'd to have a Degree of Putrefaction.

And saith, That the Breast was turn'd Greenish, and so Mortify'd, (considering the Season of the Year) that it might seem rather to have been Dead a Month, then so short a Time as he was Missing.

Now for so much as concerns the Collar, and the Circles, it is made a Clear Case here, by the Disappearing of the Lower Circle upon the Unbuttoning of the Collar, that the One caused the Other : The Creases just Answering the Depth of the Collar.

Sarah Moreton One of the Searchers of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Deposeth, That this Enformant, and her Partner, Mary Smith, being sent for to see the Body of a Dead Child, about Two Years since, this Enformant, and her said Partner, looking upon the said Child, said it Dy'd of the Rickets : Whereupon the Landlady said to this Enformant, to this effect, The

Child is Murther'd; The Father and Mother have thrown it against the Ground, and kill'd it, shewing to this Enformant a Looseness of the Neck.

And faith, That after This, there was a Jury Met to Sit upon the Death of the Child; and the Jurors Considering the Limberness of the Neck, concluded, that the Neck was Broke; After which, they sent to this Enformant, and her Partner, to View the Body once again; who continued in Opinion, that the Neck of it was Not Broken: Whereupon a Surgeon was sent for, who upon a Full Examination of the Matter, found that the Neck was Not Broken. The Reason they gave why the Neck was Broken, was, because they could remove the Chin from Shoulder to Shoulder, by the Great Looseness of the Neck: But this Enformant and her Partner satisfy'd them, that such a Limberness of the Neck was an Ordinary Case; and that if the Neck had been Broke, they might have turn'd the Chin behind to the Back; which this Enformant shew'd them was not to be done by This Child: So that they found it to Dye of a Natural Death, and the Parents came into no further Trouble about it.

Mr. Skillarne gives other Reasons still, for his Opinion that he was Strangled. Now if he lay in a Strangling Posture, there must be Strangling Accidents Expected upon him; And if that be Admitted, it was a Filthy way about, to have him Strangled somewhere else, and then brought to the Ditch, when he might have been as well Strangled as he lay in the Ditch: And after All This, there's not so much as the Least Glimpse of Light all This while, of his being Kill'd, either by any Other Hand, or in any Other Place. As to the Settling of the Bloud in his Breast, and the Resemblance of Bruises thereabouts, it was but Natural; what with the Damp of the Earth, and the Course of the Bloud that way, that Those Parts which were nearest the Orifice of the Wound should Putrify First.

It made a Mighty Noise, I remember, the *Dispute* whether his Eyes were *Shut* or *Open*, and whether they were *Fly-blown*, or *Not*. Mr. *Hassard*, and several Others found his Eyes *Shut*; Mr. *Skillarne*, &c. found them *Open*, and Both, *True*, Undoubtedly, as they might be *Tamper'd* with: But for *Fly-blows* upon the 18th. of *October* (though it was *Smorn Point Blank* over and over) the very *Fancy* of *Fly-blows* at That time of the Year, was *Laugh'd* at, and *Hiss'd* out of All Company, and *Credit*. And yet this very Year, a pretty way into *November*, having the Honour to *Dine* with a Noble Person of a Character every Way *Answerable* to the Dignity of his Title: The *Side-Bord*, *Cistern*, and *Table-basket*, were so *Pester'd* with *Swarms*, I dare say of *Thousands* of *Flies*, that I desir'd a *Particular Notice* might be Taken of the Thing, and of the Time, in *Contradiction* to the *Frivolous Exceptions* that were made to that part of the Evidence in the Case of *Godfrey*. There was great Notice taken too, of the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*. Now they were not only *Clean*, but *Shining*; as any Man's will be, upon such a *Walk*, where the *Grass* wipes them every Step he sets: And Mr. *Teamans* Deposes, That his *Shoes* were very *Clean*, and several *Blades* of *Grass* sticking about the *Seems*.

Mr. *Collinson* Deposes, as to the *Weather*, That it was *Fair*, *Dry Weather* All that Week till *Thursday*; when there was a *Great Shower* of *Hail*. This he remembereth, by the *Token* that the *Sickness* and *Death* of his *Wife* at *Marybone* about that Time, caused him to *Travel* Early and Late, upon that *Occasion*.

Mr. *Audley* Deposeth, That the *Saturday* when *Sir Edmund* was first *Missing*, was a very *Fair*, *Sun-shiny* Day. This Informant having a *Country-House* at *Hamersmith*, walked home on *Foot* that *Saturday*, and the

Way was very Dry, and Clean, which he well remembreth by Sir Edmund's being Missing That Day.

Now his *Shoes* could never have been Thus *Clean*, if he had been brought Thither a *Horseback*; or any way but *a-foot*; for (as some Body well observ'd) the *Walk* had as good as *Glaz'd* them; So that the *Force* of the *Inference* lyes strong the *Other Way*: Or if his *Shoes* Ought to have been *Dirty* with going thither *a-foot* to *Destroy* himself, Why did not the *Murtherers* *Danb* and *make* them *Dirty*, for the better Colour of the *Cheat*? But let the Matter be as it will, it is not *Tanri*, to argue whether it were so or no. The *Question* indeed of *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*, is of more Importance; and though there's already so much said upon't, there's yet so much More, to be said upon't, that it will deserve a *Chapter* by it self.

C H A P. XIV.

Bloud or No Bloud, was the main Point in Issue, though the least part of the Question, either at the Inquest, or at the Tryals.

THE Bus'ness of the *Fly-blows*, and of the *Eyes* shut or open, will bear *Inferences* *Plausible* enough, to *Puzzle* a *Debate*; but they are *Circumstances*, rather of *Curiosity*, and *Caprice*, then of *Weight*. The *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Circles* about it, might pass well enough in the *Description* of a *Body* that had been *Strangled* in *Sight*; but it does not follow, by any Means, because it was certainly the *Rope* that caused the *Limberness*, and made that *Mark*, that therefore every such *Limberness*, and every such *Mark* must have been

been *Caus'd* by a *Rope*; for a *Stiff Collar*, as one may place the *Body*, and the *Neck* of a *Man*, will as surely *Strangle* him in a *Ditch*, as a *Halter* will do upon a *Gibbet*: And the *Sword* that brings down the *Body*, and the *Parts* of it to such a *Position*, does the same *Office* one way, that the *Executioner* does *Another*: So that if I Grant but a *Likely Possibility* of an *Antecedent Suffocation*, 'tis the *Uttermost* that the *Case* will admit; and so far at last, from being a *Warrantable Ground* for a *Conclusion*, that it will scarce amount to a *Competent Foundation* for a *Bare Conjecture*. But we have spoken abundantly to These Particulars, in the *Two Last Chapters*; And so to the *Imaginary Blows* and *Bruises*, and the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*. In one Word; Sir *Edmund* dy'd a kind of a *Complicated Death*: The *Sword* and the *Collar*, in Appearance, had *Both* their *Parts* in't, and either of them would have done the *Work*, without the *Other*; But the *Main Strefs* of the *Cause* is yet to come. 'Tis objected that the *Signs* of being *Strangled* were *Evident*; but that there appear'd nothing more then the *Sword through the Body* to Induce any *Man* to *Believe* that he Dy'd of the *Wound*. The *Sword* was run through him after he was *Dead*, they say, there would have been *Bloud* else, and so they have cast the *Question* upon This Issue, Was there any *Bloud* or *No*?

The *Jury*, we find, were led by the *Surgeons*; and the *Surgeons*, by the *Bloud*, or *No Bloud*. Mr. *Skillarne* deliver'd himself like a *Just Man*, and a *Master* of his *Profession*, All that was *Possible*. I took him to be *Strangled*, (says he) and gives his *Reasons* (as in the last Paragraph of his *Enformation*, in the *Foregoing Chapter*.) But then a little further to *Qualifie* the *Matter*.

Zachariah Skillarne Deposeth, That He This *Enformant* being ask'd what *Reasons* Mov'd him to be of *Opinion*

nion that Sir Edmund was Not Kill'd with the Sword, He this Enformant maketh Answer, Because there was no greater Flux of Bloud, which is the ONLY Reason, to the best of his Memory, that Mov'd This Enformant to be of That Judgement.

Now if This was the ONLY Reason, for his such Opinion, as He Himself Declares it was, there will be No Reason at all to believe it, when This Reason shall be Remov'd. And then Mr. Cambridge's Opinion falls, in Consequence, having sworn Himself of the same Judgement with Mr. Skillarne. It would be Endlesse to set down All the Informations at Length that have been deliver'd upon Oath upon This Occasion: So that I shall only Sum up the most Material Parts of them, in Abstract, and refer any Man that doubts the Candor of the Report, to the Originals Themselves, which I have Deposited in the Paper-Office for the Perpetual Memory of the Truth of This Matter. I shall begin with the Jurors, and so to the Surgeons, and then to Other Testimonies of Credit, that speak Unanimously to This Point.

Thomas Wooliams Deposeth, That he saw the Body laid at Length, upon a Table, at the White-House, and (as he remembreth) a Stain upon his Flannel, or Holland Shirt, which he took to be Waterish Bloud. That this Enformant went down to see the Place, where the said Body was found: And that he being shew'd the Place, where this Enformant was told the Sword was taken out of the Body; He this Enformant heard some of the Company say, that upon the Pulling out of the Sword, there came out some Watry stuff mixt with Bloud; And that this Enformant saw something of That Kind upon the Ground there, to the best of his Remembrance.

Philip Allanes Deposeth, That being Summon'd, &c. He This Enformant went to the White-house, and saw the Dead Body layd there upon a Table, and saw the Flannel shirt stain'd with a kind of Watrish Bloud; and that going down to the Place where they said the Sword was taken out, This Enformant did there see a kind of Watrish Bloud upon the Ground.

William Collins Deposeth, That the Body had an offensive Smell, and that the Shirt was Bloudy, and that some Bloud came from it, as This Enformant was told, when they took out the Sword.

Robert Trotton being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, That he was shew'd the Place where they said they took the Sword out of the Body, and saw Bloud, and at a Style or Posts in the Way; which they said came from the Body.

Thomas Mason being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, That he saw the Body layd upon a Table in the White-house and Watrish Bloud upon his Linnen.

Joseph Girt being Summon'd, &c. Deposeth, That while the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was lying upon a Table in the White-house, This Enformant observed a Great Quantity of Bloud to Issue from the Body, about a Gallon, as he This Enformant believes.

Here are half a Dozen of the Jurors Themselves, that Swear to the Bloud, though it was Carry'd upon the Two Verdicts, as if there had been No Bloud at All; and that the Sword had been run through him after he was Dead. We'll proceed now to the Testimony of the Surgeons, and of others well vers'd in Matters of that Quality.

Mr.

Mr. Richard Lasinby Deposeth, That the Shirt was Bloudy and Foetid; and Bloud likewise on the Place where they said the Sword was taken out.

Mr. Skillarne Deposeth, That he took a View of the Ditch, where the Dead Body was found, and could not see any Bloud; But upon the Place where the Body was Remov'd, and where they drew out the Sword; This Enformant saw the Grasse stain'd with a Watry Bloud, and Smelling to it, found it to be Offensive, and Putrify'd. And This Enformant Passing further, in the Direct way toward the White-house, He This Enformant observed at some Posts that were set up in the Way, that one of the Posts was Stain'd with such a kind of Watrish Bloud as before; And from thence, This Enformant pass'd forward to the White-house, where he saw the said Body lye upon a Table, in a Black Mix'd Chamblet Coat; Another Coat Doublet and Breeches Black, no Band, a Deep Stiff Collar, and the Body lying at Length upon the Back; His Eyes Open, The Face Swell'd; The Body upon the Breast appearing to be Bruis'd; The Neck Distorted, and so Limber that This Enformant Remov'd the Chin from One Shoulder to the Other. There was a Circle about the Neck; And upon This Enformants Opening it with an Incision Knife, the Bloud appear'd to be Coagulated. This Enformant saw No Bloud upon the Body, Before; but on the Back of it there was a Stain'd Watrish Bloud. And This Enformant Observed, that upon Raising the Body, there Drain'd a Bloudy Serum from it, upon the Table, and so down upon the Floor.

Mr. James Chase Deposeth, That he saw some Bloud upon the Place, where they said the Sword was taken out, and the Constable being upon the Place, told This Enformant, that it was of the Bloud that Follow'd the Sword

Sword from the Wound, when he drew it out of the Body.

Mr. James Huxleman Deposeth, That the Woman of the White-house told him, that the Bloud Drein'd from the Body as it lay upon the Table, into the Cellar, and that Clots of Bloud were found about the Body.

Mr. Brown the Constable Deposeth, That upon Drawing the Sword out of the Body (in the Dark,) he heard somewhat come Gubbling out of the Wound, and fall Spattering upon the Ground.

John Rawson Deposeth, That upon the Night when the Body was found, he went down with a Candle and Lanthorn, to the Place where the said Body was found: And going first to the Ditch, they could not Discern any Bloud at All; but that upon the Place, where the Sword was drawn out, they found Bloud and Watry Stuff up and down upon the Grasse, and so Upon the Posts in the Passage, and upon the Cheek of the Door, going into the House, and so likewise upon the Floor, where the Body was First laid, and afterwards upon the Table where it was Remov'd.

Margaret Rawson Deposeth, That the Body being layd upon the Table, she This Enformant saw Bloud and Watry Matter that had Dropt from the Table, and pass'd through the Cellar, and dropt on some Bottles that were there.

John Paris Deposeth, That he saw the Body lye Upon the Floor at the White-house, and that there ran Bloud and Watry Matter from the said Body upon the Floor.

Mr.

Mr. John Ballard Deposeth, That This Enformant heard that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing from his House some Days before the Dead Body was found. And that upon the Morning next after the Day the said Body was said to be found, He This Enformant being at a Coffee-House, heard the News; And at the request of Mr. John Farewell, He this Enformant went along with him to see the Body: And This Enformant coming to the Place where the said Body was found, and viewing the Place, Thought it a Hard Matter to bring a Body thither with a Horse.

And that This being Early in the Morning, some Snow that had fall'n the Night before, was yet seen upon the Ground. And that upon the Place where it was said that the Sword was pull'd out of the Body, there was Snow upon the Grass; But upon some other Places near it, the Bloud that was said to come out of the Body was seen there upon the Ground in a Considerable Quantity; And (as This Enformant Believes) the Snow Melted upon it.

And likewise that Passing by some Posts in the Way to the White-house, where the Body then lay, This Enformant saw near the said Posts a Quantity of Watry Bloud, which This Enformant Judged to have Issued from the Body, in the Carrying it over.

And This Enformant coming up to the White-House, where the Body lay upon a Table, He This Enformant Immediately upon the Sight of the Body, said, This is Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. His Coat was a Dark Brown Chamblet, His Shoes very Clean, Top and Bottom, His Eyes Shut, And something about the Eye-Lashes, that seem'd to This Enformant to be Fly-Blows. His Bosom was Open, His Shirt Stained with Bloud, And a Kind of Watry Bloud that dropt from him upon the Floor; all This to the Best of his Knowledge, and Memory.

Wil.

William Batson Deposeth, That going from the White-house toward the Place where This Enformant was told the Body Lay; He This Enformant, with the Company, Saw, near a Gap in the Passage, some Bloud lying on the Ground; This Enformant being told, that the Body was brought from the Place where it was found, That way. And This Enformant going further, saw (as he believeth) a Greater Quantity of Bloud, where the Grass was Stain'd with it, being the Place (as This Enformant believeth) whereunto the said Body was Remov'd out of the Ditch; And This Enformant believeth, that upon taking the Sword out of the Body, the Bloud might there Issue out.

James Gower Deposeth, That hearing several Years since, that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey (whom This Enformant well knew) had been Missing some time from his House, And that his Body was found some where out of Town, (But the Day, the Month, or the Year, This Enformant doth not perfectly remember) He This Enformant went in Company with one Mr. William Batson, and a Servant of Mr. VWilliam Pilkingtons, to see the Body, which they found Early in the Morning, at the White-house beyond Primrose-Hill, where it lay in the Clothes upon the Table.

And that This Enformant, having a Curiosity to see the Body of the said Sir Edmund, Unbutton'd a Loose Coat he had on, and Another Coat Under it; and so to the Shirt, Open'd his Shirt and saw Bloud upon it; with Two VVounds by his Left Pap; But no Sword at That Time in the Body.

And that This Enformant having seen, and Observed the said Body, agreed with a Fellow to shew the Place where he was found, and Payd him for his Pains: the said

Guide

Guide leading This Enformant, and the Company the same way (as he said) by which they brought the Body. This Enformant remembreth, that there was a Style, or Posts by the way, At, or near which Place, there was a Great Quantity of Bloud, as This Enformant and the Company took it to be, as if it had been Pour'd out of a Balon. This Enformant and the Company going from thence toward the Place, where he was found, and within a Matter of Thirty or Forty Foot of the Place, where the Guide said the Body was found; there was a Great Quantity of Bloud lying in the same Manner as the Other, and rather more in Quantity then the Former.

And This Enformant saith, that being come to the Ditch, Mr. Batson was of Opinion that there was some Bloud in the Ditch, as he hath said to this Enformant several Times since; But This Enformant dares not be Positive, that he saw any, though he saw something which he Doubted, whether it might be Bloud or No.

Edward Fisher Deposeth, that the Day after the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, This Enformant was Going about Nine or Ten in the Morning to My Lord Wottons for Orders about Work, and heard by the Way, that the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was found, and Carry'd to the White-House in St. John's Wood: This Enformant went forward to My Lord Wotton's, and returning about Two or Three in the Afternoon, took the White-House in his way: And coming thither, This Enformant found the Coroner, and Jury there, to view the Body, who went up Stairs, while This Enformant went into a Low Room, where the Body lay.

That as This Enformant was looking upon the Body, there came in a Man with a drawn Sword in his Hand, who said, he was the Constable, and that he took that
Sword

Sword out of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Body, Describing the Manner of Sir Edmund's lying upon his Face, and the Sword about Six Inches through his Body. The Constable, upon This, said, that the Coroner desired the Body should be stript, and entreated the Company to lend him a Hand to do it: Whereupon, This Enformant with Two Others Assisted him in the stripping of the Body; This Enformant observing his Neck to be Limber, a Blackness about his Breast, and upon the stripping him of his shirt, found it to be All Bloudy in the Back; And the smell of the Body very Noyson, and Offensive. And saith likewise, that the Arms were so stiff, that they were forced to Tear off his shirt.

Thomas Burdet Deposeth, That the Woman of the White-House told him This Enformant, that the Bloud ran from Sir Edmund's Body from the Table on to the Floor; and so from the Floor into the Celler; And she took This Enformant into the Celler, and shew'd him the Ground stain'd with the Bloud.

Mr. Bromans Deposeth, that he found the Body lying upon a Table at the White-House, and Watrish Bloud running from the Body on the Floor.

Mr. Collinson Deposeth, that he Observed Drops of Bloud in several Places of the Path where the Body was Carry'd, as if a Man had Walk'd with his Nose Bleeding; but that at some Posts in the Way, there was Bloud seen in a Great Quantity.

After These Proofs of Bloud, and of Bloud too, in such a Quantity, as more could not be Expected from a Body Under Those Circumstances; nor more Undeniable Evidences of it; (for the Sword stopt the Fore-part of the Wound as Tight, as a Tap) After All This, I say;

say; and an Appeal that a Man might safely make to the Consciences of Thousands of People that might be added to the Open and Avow'd Witnesses of This Truth; It will be but Fair Yet; at last, to see how This Question of the Bloud was Manag'd, and what was said on the Other side, to bear the World down, that there was No such evacuation; for the [Bloud or No Bloud] was the same Thing, with Guilty or Not Guilty.

It is very Remarkable, that in the Coroner's Examinations, the very Word of [BLOU] is not so much as Mention'd: And in Truth, it was not safe to Insist upon it, because the Jurors were Conscious to Themselves, that there was a Great Deal of Bloud: (as I have already Prov'd upon Six of them) and the same may be reasonably presum'd of All the rest. Now the Jurors would never have agreed upon a Verdict, wherein they should every Man of 'em have given the Lye to his own Knowledge and Conscience; for they might as well have said, we know upon Ocular Certainty, that there was Bloud in a Great Quantity; and yet we will Discharge ourselves upon our Oaths, in Declaring that VVe believe there was None; and therefore Recourse is had to the Twisting of his Neck, and the Blows upon his Breast for the Cause of his Death.

And so we find it upon the Tryal, where 'tis the Crebat, or the Twisted Handkercher that does the Feat still; not the Sword. Was he bloudy? (says the L. C. Justice) [Mr. Brown] There was No Bloud at All; There was No Bloud in the Ditch. fol. 35. And so the Enquiry went off Immediately, to the Sword, the Bruises; The Loosness of the Neck; the Stick, and Gloves; the Mony in his Pocket, fol. 36. and not One VVord More to the Constable, of the Bloud, though that same No Bloud in the Ditch, Considering that the Question was not restrain'd to the Ditch, Imports a kind of Emphatical Exception, as who should say, there

was No Bloud in the Ditch, but there was Bloud else where. VVe find in Gometh's Enformation, 'tis true, that Batson told him he thought he saw Bloud in the Ditch; and that Gometh himself was Half of That Opinion, though he would not be Positive in't. It will be here Objected that This Admittance Overthrows what I have said Already of the Swords Closing the Wound, so that No Bloud could pass; And if a Little, why not More? Now This Cavil Concludes mightily for My Purpose, for the same Thing might be Objected in the Case of his Shirt, and Flannel, How came it at All to be stain'd; And why no More on't? The Answer lyes very Plain, and Open; The Orifice of the Mortal Wound was Clos'd; but the Puncture (as Cambridge calls it) that stopt upon the Rib, was Open, and thence came This Bloud. There might be some Little Draining from the Other, but Not Considerable, and the Clots that were found about him came from his Back, where the Point had Wriggled out its way through the Bone, and could not so well secure the Passage.

After Brown the Constable, had given his Evidence, the Surgeons were Call'd, and Question'd about his Bruises; The Distortion and Loosness of his Neck; and Then, Mr. Attorney Ask'd Mr. Skillarne, if he thought he was kill'd by the Wound? [Mr. Skillarne] No, for then there would have been some Evacuation of Bloud, which there was not; Meaning, I suppose, an Evacuation, While the Bloud was Warm, and Fluid. Not Reflecting upon the Swords stopping the Course of it. One of the King's Council, upon This, Leads him off from the bloud again, to the Neck. Are You sure (says he) his Neck had been Broken? Yes I am sure says Mr. Skillarne; And then again of Himself; [The Wound (says he) went through his very Heart, and there would have been some Bloud, if it had been done quickly after his Death. Cambridge, in fine, Assented to the Opinion

say; and an Appeal that a Man might safely make to the Consciences of Thousands of People that might be added to the Open and Avow'd Witnesses of This Truth; It will be but Fair Yet; at last, to see how This Question of the Bloud was Manag'd, and what was said on the Other side, to bear the World down, that there was No such evacuation; for the [Bloud or No Bloud] was the same Thing, with Guilty or Not Guilty.

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T nion

nion of Mr. Skillarne, without one Word more about the *Bloud*; And the whole Stress was laid upon the *Signs* of being *Strangled*, or *Hang'd*. fol. 37, 38.

The *Light it self* is not more Open to the Eyes of any Man, then is the *Evidence* of the *Truth* and *Reason* of *This Affair*: But there will be Place and Occasion by and by to make it yet Clearer.

C H A P. XV.

The Enformations before the Coroner Examī'd, and not One Word in them to the Point in Issue.

THere are many Cases wherein the *Truth* may be Cover'd, or *Intricated*, and the *Reason* of a Thing lye out of *Sight*: But for Errors of *Inadvertency*, *Credulity*, *Frailty*, or *Good Nature*, it is no more then *Common Justice*, for *Flesh and Blood* to bear with *Humane Infirmity*: But if People are Resolv'd to shut their *Eyes* against the *Sun*; to be *Deaf* to all *Profitable Counsels*, and *Necessary Instructions*; and not only to *Neglect*, *Contemn*, or *Refuse*, but also to *Stifle*, *Discountenance*, and *Oppose* the *Honest Means* of *Arriving* at the *Certain Knowledge* of *Things*; Let it be in *Fact*; Let it be in *Opinion*; Let it be *Where*, *How*; or let the *Case* be *What* it will, there's *No Excuse* for That sort of *Ignorance*: But in few Words, the *Present Point* is Briefly *This*.

There's a *Body* found in a *Ditch*, with a *Sword* thorough it: The *Constable* removes This *Body* in the *Night* to a *Neighbour-House*: An *Inquisition* Passes upon it: And *No Light* to a *Discovery* how the *Person* came to his *End*, but what *Arises* from the *Sight* of it upon

a Table, and from the Imperfect Relation of those that took it out of the Ditch; who could say Nothing to it neither, but by Guess and Groping; for it was so Dark, that there was no discerning one Thing from Another. The Jurors were now to consider, how this Man came by his Death: And having nothing else to Work upon, as I was saying, but the Constable's Report on the bus'ness of the Ditch; and what further might be Collected from a View of the Body; the Subject Matter of Enquiry was Altogether Surgeons-Work; for there were Wounds, Bruises, Tumours, Marks of Strangling, and the Appearance of a Broken Neck in the Case: Now taking for Granted, that Sir Godfrey dy'd a Violent Death, it was a Point wholly out of their Cognizance, and fitter for a Consult of Doctors, than a Pannel of Jurors to determine: Two Surgeons were hereupon call'd to their Assistance, by whose Opinions they were over-ruled to find him Strangled; or by Way of Explanation, that he dy'd rather a Dry Death, then a Bloudy; for, That was the Stress of the Question. If there was no Flux of Bloud, 'tis likely he was Strangled: If there was Any, 'tis certain that he Dy'd of his Wounds: So that the Verdict was carry'd in favour of a Possibility, against a Point-blank Demonstration; for Bloud there was in Abundance, as is already Prov'd, and Over Prov'd, in the Last Chapter. The Coroner and the Jurors knew there was Bloud; Nay, and there were Inferences drawn from the Evidences of That Bloud, against the finding of him Strangled. And

Mr. Fryer Deposeth (being one of the Inquest) that as he believes there was Discourse, and Argument among the Jurors to This Effect, That there was Bloud came out of the Body, which could not have been, if the Sword had gone through the Body after it had been Dead.

This Point stuck, the *First Day*, and held 'em tack too the *Next*; 'till *Sunday Morning*, without any *New Matter*, either of *Proof*, or *Presumption*, that look'd toward the *Strangling* of him, though the *Adjournment* was said to be purely for *Further Evidence*. But in the *Conclusion*, the *Limberness* of the *Neck*, and the *Two Circles* Carry'd it against the *Sword* through the *Heart* of him: Now *Those Two Circles* were so far One from Another, that they were fain to *Reconcile* the *Distance*, by the *Fancy* of a *Linnen Cloth*, or something that was *Broad*, to *Cover* the *Interval*, and to do the *Office* of a *Halter*. They were, in short, *Mightily* at a *Loss*, what to do with *These Two Circles*; for if they would make them *Marks* of *Suffocation*, they must either *Both* be so, or *Neither*, being *Manifestly Effects* of one and the same *Cause*; That is to say, the *Pinching* of a *Deep Stiff Collar* that made *Those Streaks* with the *Two Edges* of it, as *Mr. Lasinby* *Demonstrates* the *Thing*, by bringing the *Two Ends* of the *Collar* together, and then shewing how exactly the *One* Answered the *Other*. They found it a *Chord* however upon the *Inquisition*, and so rendred it, *Effectually*, a *Rope*, in *Law*, and a *Linnen Cloth*, in *Equity*. But in the *Conclusion*, there was at last a *Verdict* obtain'd, without *Mentioning any Bloud at all*, for so much as appears at least upon the *Coroners Copy* of the *Enformations*; which I have received according to *Order* from the *Hand* of *Mr. Comper* the *Coroner*, for the *True Copies* of all that were by him taken in *Writing* upon *This Matter*: And they shall be hereafter *Exhibited*, in their *Due Place*, and *Season*.

Having thus far *Cleared* our *Way*, by a *Particular*, as well as a *General Account* of *Things*, toward the *Forming* of a *True Judgment* upon the *Equiry* of *This Proceeding*; We are now *Entring* upon such a *Chain* of *Thoughts*,

Thoughts, as, in the very Order of Reasoning, will Naturally Lead us to a Full Understanding of the Merits of the Cause.

The King has lost a Subject; and the First Question is, *What Death did he Dye?* 2ly. *What Means or Evidence toward the Instructing of a Jury upon such an Enquiry?* Of These Two Points we have said more then Enough, perhaps, Already? 3ly. *Whether or no were Those Proofs Sufficient, and Improv'd to the Utmost, according to the Coroners best Skill and Knowledge, toward the finding out of the Truth?* 4ly. *Whether or no were there Any Witnesses left Unsummon'd, that in Manifest Probability might have given more Light to the Truth of the Fact, then Others that they made use of?* The Third Point in the Range of This Distribution, is to be the First now in the Order of my Discourse. There are Two Branches of it; The Competency of the Means, and the Best Improvement of Those Means towards the Common End. As to the former, The Main Question is This; *Did he Dye of a Wound, or was he Strangled?* And then, *Was there any Blood, or Not?* For Blood or No Blood, was the Certain Indication, either of the One, or the Other? If there was a Considerable Flux of Blood, there could not be a more Demonstrative Proof in the Case; for Mr. Skillarne Himself Declares, and Deposes upon Oath, that *There being no greater a Flux of Blood was the ONLY Reason, that Mov'd him to be of Opinion, that Sir Edmund was not Kill'd with the Sword;* But if there was such a Flux of Blood in sight; though he did not take Notice of it, in so great a Quantity; and that it was not only Prov'd upon Oath, but the Jurors Themselves were likewise Ocular Witnesses of it, there could not be a more Convincing Evidence in the World, then this Discharge of Blood, that the Sword was the Death of him. To say Nothing of Twenty other Convincing Circumstances in favour of that Opinion.

But what signifies *Sufficiency* of *Evidence* without the *Application* of it; Or the *Flutter* that many People make in pretending to *Search* after a *Truth* that they would be *Loth* to *find*? Whether or no there was any thing of this in the Subject of Their Enquiry, will best appear from an *Inspection* into the *Measures*, and the *Methods* of their *Proceeding*; That is to say, with a respect to the *Choice* of the *Matter*; The *Tendency*, and the *Direction* of the *Questions*; and the *Bias* of the *Debate*. Now there is a *Right* and a *Wrong*, as well *Antecedently* to a *Conclusion*, as in the *Last Sentence* and *Result* it self. There may be *Concealing*, *Qualifying*, *Suppressing*, *Disguising*, *Misrepresenting*, *Paradoxing*, laying more or less *Weight* upon a thing then belongs to't, &c. In all which Cases, a *False Medium*, purposely *Interpos'd*, is a *Greater Iniquity* then a *Mistaken Judgment*.

I was a Speaking of the *Enformations* taken before Mr. Comper, one of his Majesties Coroners for the County of *Middlesex* upon the Subject of *Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey's Death*: And it is in *Those Papers* that we are reasonably to look for the *Stress* of the *Matter* in *Debate*, and the *Ground* of the *Final Resolution*: Nay, and the *Good Faith* of the Very Manage of the *Cause*, will in some Degree appear from the *Matter* of the *Examinations*, or from the *Loose* or *Strict Sifting* of the *Witnesses*. I shall begin with the *Enformations* of Mr. *Skillarne*, and Mr. *Cambridge*, and so proceed from One to Another, with a Note Upon them as I go: Saving only that I shall reserve the *Depositions* of *John Brown*, *Henry Moer*, *Joseph Radcliffe*, and his *Wife*, with *Mary*, the *Wife* of Captain *Tho. Gibbon*, to be Treated of in like Manner, but in Chapters by *Themselves*.

The Enformation of Zacharias Skillarne, of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the 18th. Day of October, Ann. Dom. 1678. before me.

Midd. ss.

HE saith, That he being sent for as a Chirurgeon, to search the Body of Sir Edmund Godfrey, did in the Presence of the Coroner and Jury, search the same, and finds that he was Strangled; And that he hath Received some Violent Blow upon the Top of his Breast; And this Enformant verily believes, that the said Sir Edmund did Rot Dye of the Wound through his Body.

Jo. Cowper,
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.

The Enformation of Nicholas Cambridge of St. Giles in the Fields, Chirurgeon, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year before me.

This Enformant saith the same.

Jo. Cowper,
Coroner.

Nicholas Cambridge.

Zacharias Skillarne Chirurgeon, being further Examined, saith, That when he Searched Sir Edmund Godfrey's Body, he found that his Neck had been Twisted towards the Left Side, which was one of the Occasions of his Death, as this Enformant believes.

Jo. Cowper,
Coroner.

Zac. Skillarne.

The Mystery of the Death

I can only Observe over again, upon *These Depositions*, what, in Effect, I have observed before: which is that the *Single Thing Necessary* to be Mention'd, for the *Full Enformation* and *Direction* of the *Jury* is left out; for There's not one word of the *Bloud*: And that would have been an *Infallible Proof* of his *Dying* by the *Sword*, and Not by *Strangling*: Whereas the *Suppressing* of That *Indubitable Evidence* for the *Wound*, turn'd the *Verdict* Clean Contrary, and made him to be *Strangled*, and not to *Dye* by the *Sword*. I'll take Six or Seaven of the rest now in order, and then Speak to 'em Altogether.

Midd. ff.

John Wilton of St. Martins Sadler, being Sworn and Examined, saith, That Sir Edmund Godfrey, about a Fortnight last Past, was Talking with one Mr. Harris, and then told this Enformant, that he was in Danger for what he had Acted for the Discovering the late Plot against his Majesty: and that he thought that some of the Postmasters were to blame, in not Intercepting some Pacquets; or Words to the same purpose.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

John Wilson

Thomas Morgan, being Sworn and Examined, saith, That on Thursday last, about Twelve of the Clock, he was at the Pond near the Ditch where Sir Edmund Godfrey was found Dead, and doth believe, that if Sir Edmunds Belt, Gloves and Cane, had layn where they were found, this Enformant should have seen them.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

Tho. Morgan

The Enformation of William Bromwell, John Walters, and John Rawson taken upon Oath the same Day and Year.

THEY say that on Thursday the Seventeenth day of October instant, about Five of the Clock, they found a Scabbard and a pair of Gloves, and a Cane lying upon the Ground; and looking farther, they found a Person lying in a Ditch. And afterwards they were Enform'd that it was Sir Edmund Godfrey, and his Sword was thrust through his Body.

William Bromwell.

John Walter.

The Mark of R. John Rawson.

Midd. ff.

Caleb Wylnde, and Richard Duke, being both Sworn and Examined, do say, that on Saturday last being the Twelfth of October instant, they saw Sir Edmund Godfrey talking with Mr. Radcliff, near Mr. Radcliffs, about one of the Clock.

Jo. Cowper

Caleb VVinde.

Coroner.

Richard Duke.

Now in One VVord, to the Enformations above. VVhat's All This to a Sword or a Rope? To a Cravat, a Handkercher, a Linnen Cloth, or what ever else of That kind the Reader pleases? The Sadler says right, that he was in Danger about Tong's and Otes's Enformations. But his Apprehension (as I have said else where) was from the Parliament, not from the Papists; and in Trnth, for Concealing the Pretended Plot,
not

not for Discovering it; Unless for doing both the One and the Other, in the Wrong Place. He has a Touch about the Postmasters, and the Paquets, which is only the Hint of a Story that he had gotten by Halves, concerning the Windsor-Letters; which Imposture was as Yet a Mystery; for it was Early days with the Plot, when These Matters were a Brewing.

Morgan Comes Next, and Deposes; that he was at the Pond, &c. upon Thursday about Noon, and saw No Gloves nor Stick. And so 'tis Inferred that they were not There, because Morgan did not see them: VWhereas if He was on One Side of the Pond, and the Things on the Other, the Bushes were so Thick, it was Morally Impossible that he should see them. Besides, that the supposing they were Not there, makes the Matter Worse; for what becomes of Prance, and Bedloes Evidence then; that Swear the Body was carry'd thither Before? Or to make short on't. Whats All This to the Question of Strangling; whether they were There or Not?

The Oath of Brumwell, Walters and Rawson is as Little to the Purpose too as any of the Rest: Though I Cannot but take Notice of the Wording of the Last Line on't i. e. [His Sword was Thrust through his Body.] as who should say, He did not do it Himself. And so for the Deposition of Wind, and Dukes, seeing him at Twelve upon Saturday talking with Radcliffe; it is Utterly Forreign to the Business. They found that he had been towards Mary-bone; And was Now come Back again, And What's his Coming Back again, to the finding of him Suffocated? And so to Fancy him Strangled in London, and his Body Carry'd off, and Thrown in a Ditch, Two Mile out of Town, with his Sword through it; what was this Conceit, but an Anticipation of the Imposture of Bedloe and Prance that follow'd upon it? To Speak Plainly to

to the Reason of the Thing, and to the Likelyhood of the Case, Sir Edmund Carry'd out a Foreboding Countenance in the Morning with him? His Friends and Relations took Notice, that for a Fortnight before he went away, his Melancholy grew Stronger and Stronger upon him, in Proportion to the Nearer, and Nearer Approach of the Parliament. His Domestiques were Startled at his Behaviour, both Over-Night, and the Next Morning when he went away: His Head ran upon Padington-Woods, and Thither he Ask'd the Way, and Thither he Went, and came Back, and, out of All Doubt, went Again, and did the Unhappy Work in the Afternoon, that he went for in the Morning.

To look back once again upon These Depositions; they were so far, in the very Nature and Quality of them, from any Pretence of giving Light how Sir Edmund came by his Death, that I Cannot gather from This Evidence, so much as the Sign of any one Question that Pointed that Way. Nay, on the Contrary, the Enformations are so Short, even where there was Place for such a Question, that it had a Countenance, as if some Care had been taken Not to look too Narrowly into't. As in the Instance of Mr. Skillarne, and so of Brumwell, Walters, and Rawson. VVould they know whether Sir Edmund was kill'd with the Sword or No? VVhat had they more to do, then to Examine whether there was any Flux of Blood or No; which would have brought the Matter to a short, and a Certain Issue: Nay, and which makes it look Worse Yet, it was Mightily Insisted, and Dilated upon in the Debate, and Yet not One Word on't in the Evidence. It is Manifest, that the Marks of Strangling, both Might and Did Deceive them: though the Molt that could be made of them amounted but to Bare Likelyhoods at Best; but as they were Complicated with other Circumstances, Wholly Improbable. Now Mr. Skillarne Casts
the

the *Main Cause* upon This Point; [*Bloud*, or *No Bloud*.] He Himself saw *Some*, but not *Enough*, it Seems. The *Jurors*, even According to their *Depositions*, saw *Bloud in Abundance*; And there were *Hundreds* and *Thousands* that could have said as much. *Walters* and *Rawson* were Examined to the *Gloves*, and the *Cane*, but Not a *VVord* again of the *Bloud*, Though *Rawson* could have said very *much* to't: Nor One Syllable of the *Posture* neither; though These *Three* that Saw the *Body* in the *Light*, could have Spoken far more *Expresly* to't, then the *Constable* that came *Afterward*, and *Grop'd* it out in the *Dark*. But in fine, the *Question* was *Shifted*, from the *Undeniable Proof* of his *Dying* by the *Wound*, to the *Probability* of his being *Strangled*: which was a *Safe way*; for the *Jurors* would have been able to *Prove* the *One*, and they could not *Disprove* the *Other*. It would have been a *Question Pertinent enough*, to Ask what *Opinion* the *People* had *Generally* of the *Matter*; *VVhile* the *Body* was at the *White-house*? The *Jurors Themselves* Tugg'd *Hard* for't, to Find him *Felo de se*.

Mr. Collinson *Deposeth*, That the *People* taking Notice of the *Ditch*, how it was *Almost Cover'd* with *Shrubs* and *Bushes*, said *One* to *Another*, *What a Cunning Place* has he found out, and were of *Opinion* that he fell upon his own *Sword*.

C H A P. XVI.

The Coroners Enformations further Examin'd; and
not One Word in them of Bloud, the Posture, or
Any thing else Material to the Question.

IF a Plentiful Discharge of *Bloud* ought to pass for
a sufficient Evidence in the Case of *Sir Edmundbury
Godfrey*, that he Dy'd by the *Wound*; And if That
Effusion of *Bloud* was sufficiently *Prov'd* to the *Coro-
ner* and his *Inquest*; (as there is No Doubt to be made
either of the *One* or of the *Other*) the Point here in
hand is already *Clear'd*, and *resolv'd*, in the *Affirmative*,
that the *Coroner* had a *Competency* of *Means* before
him, for the Discovery of the *True Cause* of his *Death*.
But how far These *Means* were *Improv'd*, toward a full
and *Effectual* *Discovery*: And how it came to pass that
the *Best* was not made of them, is the Thing that we
have now Under Consideration. Touching the *Enfor-
mations* spoken of, and Recited, in the Last Chapter;
as there was Nothing of *Satisfaction* to be Expected
from the Greater Part of the *Witnesses*; so Neither
does it appear that there was Any thing *Propos'd* to-
ward the Main Bus'ness of the *Enquiry*, to any of the
Rest: So that it seems to be *Time* Lost *One Way*, and
Opportunity, *Another*. To say the Truth, Those *Papers*
would not be worth the Ink we have Bestow'd upon
'em, if it were not for the *Remaining Enformations*
that are Yet to Follow; which *Enformations* might
serve, of Themselves, even without any other Guide,
for a *Key* to let a Man into the Whole *Mystery*: They
are *All of a Cast*; All in the same *Cause*; and there-
fore I shall Deliver them over to the *World Entire*
as they came to *Me*: Though to keep within some
reason-

reasonable Compass, I have Divided them into several Chapters.

The Reader is still to be Minded, that [How Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came by his Death] is the Capital Question. The Coroner is upon the View; and we are here upon the Evidence that was Given, and the Witneses that Gave it. We shall see what use was made of them; and how far This Scrutiny was Manag'd, according to the Intent of the Inquisition, and to the Best of the Coroner's Skill and Knowledge.

The Enformation of John Brown, taken upon Oath the same Day and Year (Octob. 18. 1678.) before me.

HE saith, that on Thursday the 17th. of October Instant, about Six of the Clock in the Afternoon, William Brumwell, John VValters, and John Rawson came to his House and told him that they had found a Gentleman in a Ditch dead; and This Enformant went with them, and there found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey lying Dead, with his Sword through his Body: and his Shoes were very Clean: and this Enformant believes that he could not have Walked thither, but that his Shoes would have been more Dirty: And as he lay, his Sword would have made some Impression in the Dirt if he had flung himself upon his Sword, the Dirt being very soft.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

John Browne.

I further Attest, that when I took up Sir Edmund Godfrey out of the Ditch, he had not any Band about his Neck.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

John Browne.

Here's

Here's not one Syllable in These Informations that could be of any Service to the End they Were or Ought to have been taken for; Nor any Thing in them but what is either *Insignificant*, or *Partial*.

Brown the Constable was told of a Gentleman found Dead in a Ditch; He went to the Place, with Those that told him, and there found Sir Edmund Godfrey lying Dead with his Sword through his Body; and when he took him out of the Ditch, he had Not any Band about his Neck.

And why [lying Dead] with his Sword through his Body, unless to Bespeak a False Understanding of the Matter, and to Insinuate that some body else had Murther'd him; and so either Cast or Left him there? This is the Genuine Countenance of it, and No Man that looks no further into't can take it otherwise. So that here's Truth Misrepresented, the Reason of the Thing Disguis'd, Honest Men Misled; and (All at Once) Common Justice most Notoriously Abus'd. Let a Man but lay his Hand upon his Heart Now, and set himself to compare the Naked simplicity of the True Matter, of Fact with This way of Wording the Report that is made use of to Cover it.

Here's a Body found in a Ditch, with a Wound Under the left Pap, and the Point of a Sword so many Inches through the Blade of the right Shoulder; The Right Arm stiff-stretch'd upon the Bank; the Left arm Doubled under it, and the Head leaning upon't.

Would any Man pass the same Judgment now upon the Death of the same Man, under the Appearance of Two so Differing Evidences? And yet they are Both upon the Credit of the same Testimony: Only the One was Calculated for the Jury, and the Other for the Truth of the Fact; which Latter Deposition we have had already. I do not say Yet that there is any Contradiction in This Diversity; but the Evidence is suited to the

the *Question* : and then there's a *Latitude* for *Words* and *Phrases*, that may seem to *Speak One Thing*, and *Import Another* : As his *Lying Dead in the Ditch*, sounds as if he had been *kill'd*, and *Thrown* there ; which is only a *Cast* of the *Clerk's skill* for the *Better Colour* of an *Ill Bus'ness*. And what's his *Descanting* then upon the *Cleanness* of his *Shoes*, and the *Print* of the *Pommel* of his *Sword*, but the *Encroachment* of a *Witness* upon the *Office* of a *Juror* : Or effectually, *VVhat's* the whole *Enformation* but an *Answer* to such *Leading Questions* : as make the *Depositions* look liker an *Argument*, then a *Testimony* ? Now *Brown* Applies his *Answers* to the respective *Interrogatories*, and if he fell short, it was the *Examiner's Fault* not *His*. And so for the taking of him up without a *Band* : it was *Just* as much to the *Purpose* as if he had *Whistled*. The single *Bus'ness* of their *Enquiry*, was to *Learn* what *Death* the *Justice Dy'd* ; and whether *strangled*, or *not* : so that *All This* was not *One Jot* to the *Point*, unless they would draw *Inferences* from the *Soles* of his *Shoes* to the *Circles* about his *Neck*.

Now to an *Ordinary Bodies Thinking*, *Brown* might have been *Catechiz'd* upon *Matters* *Ininitely* more *Instructive* to the *Jurors* than any thing that appears hitherto from *These Enformations*. *Brown* could have told of the *Crashing* of the *Sword* through the *Bone*, the *Gubbling* of the *Bloud* that came out, and the *Spattering* *Noise* it made upon the *Ground* at the *Drawing* of it. And *This* was *No more*, then what was well *Enough Known* too ; but for *Solemnities* sake, there must be somewhat upon *Record* Transmitted to *After-Times*, in *Honour* of the *Cause*, and for the *Perpetual Memory* of the *Thing* ; In which *Case*, the *Bloud*, the *Posture*, and some other *Dangerous Circumstances* were found *Convenient*, by the *Managers* of *That* season, to be better *Out* then *In*.

The

The Next Enformation is Harry Moors: an Old Servant in the Family; the Clark; and, not a little, the Confident of the late Sir Edmundbury Godfrey: for he was Inward with him in Most of his Privacies; he was the last Man too that saw him at his House the Morning he went away: And the Person Principally employ'd by the Brothers to Look, and Hearken after him, from the first Hour of his Missing, to the finding of the Body. In One word, he was the likeliest Man alive to set them right in their Bus'ness. It is to be Noted also, that the Brothers were Intimate with the Coroners; and Both, or One of them, from First to last, no less Assiduous with the Inquest. So that Moor could probably speak to a Thousand Particular Things that no Body else perhaps might take any Notice of. Now what ever he knew, to be sure, the Brothers Knew; And what ever They knew, as to This Matter, it is to be Honestly Presum'd that the Coroner knew; Inasmuch, that they had All the Intelligence among them, which the Brothers, the Coroner, and the Clerk could Contribute, Joynly, or Severally to the bringing of the Point to a Fair Issue. VVe shall see now in the Next Chapter, what Use was made of Moors Testimony, and how they Squeez'd him upon the Examination, to Draw from him the Uttermost of his Knowledge upon Those Necessary Points, which they knew he could speak to. To Conclude, He did Certainly know a Great Deal; The Brothers and the Coroner did Both, Certainly know that he Did so: And it must be then Consider'd, that he did Probably know More Yet, then they could Certainly Charge upon him; and therefore it was Their Part to have him Examin'd to the Probabilities, as well as to the Certainties. A Plain, Blunt Enquiry upon These Heads, will do a Great deal toward the satisfying of the VWorld, whether the Mighty Clutter that has been made here about sifting, and searching, was Banter, or Earnest.

C H A P. XVII.

Notes upon the Mysterious Examination of Henry Moor, Clerk to Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

HERE was a *Jury Summon'd* and brought together upon the *View* of a *Dead Body*; *Consultations* and *Debates* in *Form*; *Surgeons* and *Witnesſes Advis'd* withal, and *Examin'd*; And All upon a *Short Queſtion*, *Whether the Perſon Dy'd of the Wound, or of a Suffocation?* And whether *Felo de ſe*, or *Not*? Among other *Evidences*, they Pitched upon *Harry Moor* for One, to give the beſt *Account* he could, about the *Death* of his *Maſter*: Wherein, it falls in *Courſe* to be conſider'd, How far *Moor* was certainly *Privy* to *Matters*; VVhat *Points* he could ſpeak to; How far the *Brothers*, the *Coroner*, and ſeveral of the *Jurors* *Themſelves* were *Enform'd* of his *Knowledge* of *Things*; and how far, in fine, he was *There Interrogated* upon *Thoſe Special Matters*, which *They Themſelves* knew *Necceſſary* to be *Clear'd*, toward the *Discovery* of the *Truth*; and which they had *Reason* to *Preſume*, and to *Believe*, that *Moor* was able to give a very *Good Account* of. I ſhall be forc'd upon *This Occaſion*, to *Deliver the Subſtance over again*, of ſome *Depoſitions* that I have made uſe of in *Parcels* already; but to *Differing Purpoſes*: For the *Queſtion* in *Thoſe Caſes* was properly the *Truth* of the *Fact*, whereas we are now upon the *Candor* and *Equity* of the *Proceeding*.

William Collins, one of the *Jurors*, ſaw *Sir Godfrey* upon *Saturday Morning*, talking with a *Milk-woman* near *Marybone-Conduit*. *Thomas Maſon* of *Marybone*, Another of the *Jurors*, on the ſame *Morning* met *Sir Edmund*

Edmund afterward, betwixt Marybone-Pound and Marybone-Street, coming back again for London.

Upon the Monday following, Moor walked out in the Morning to look his Master, and seeing Mr. Mason by the way, near his own House, Asked him, If he had seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in the Fields since Saturday? For he had lost his Master, and knew not what was become of him: Whose Answer was, That he had seen him on Saturday Morning, as above, and not since. It is here to be Noted, that Moor had heard of his Master on Monday Morning, though the Family gave it out, That the first Tydings they had of him was from Parsons, a Coach-maker at a Funeral on Tuesday Night; which Account was, That upon Saturday Morning he met Sir Edmund in St. Martins-Lane, who asked him the Way to Paddington Woods, or thereabouts; And the Whole Story thus far, was well known to the Brothers and the Coroners.

On the same Saturday he went away, Mr. Radcliffe had him by the Hand at his own Door in the Strand, about Twelve or One; And Great Use was made of that Evidence, to Induce a Verdict, that he was Strangled; for they Inferred, that he was Not Kill'd in the Ditch; because he was come back again: Now that Inference would have held as good, (and consequently that Verdict) in the Case of Mason, (who undoubtedly told the Jury the Story of his Coming back again before they Adjourn'd) So that they got not one Grain of Intelligence to This Purpose at the Rose and Crown, more then they had before at the White-House. But to return to the Clerk again. Moor took Notice of his Masters Great Discontent, and Disorder, (in his Own Words) after the taking of Otes's Enformations: He could not be Ignorant of the Freak of his Burning so many Papers upon Friday Night; as he made express remarks upon his Distracted Starts, Looks, Actions and Gestures,

That Last Saturday Morning. He told Judith Pamphlin, one of the Family, that he was affraid he was Murther'd: His Wife Exclaiming, O that ever it should be said that ~~such a Man~~ Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Murther'd himself! Pamphlin raving at the same rate, and telling Captain Gibbon, his Lady, and his Daughters, over and over, that Moor knew a great deal; and if Moor were examin'd, he could say much. He Declar'd it himself that he had been to Search for his Master, and within a Few Rods too of the Place where the Body was found; And he Deliver'd the same thing upon Oath before Two of his Majesties Justices for the Isle of Ely: It cannot be Imagin'd, that the Brothers, all this while, were Strangers to these Circumstances; Especially considering the Part they had in the Manage of the whole Transaction: Upon the Monday after his going away, they went to Mrs. Gibbons, to enquire for him; and upon her Relation of Sir Edmund's Wild Behaviour the Last time she saw him, they both brake out into Violent Exclaymings, Lord! What will become of us!

Upon Sunday Morning Early, Moor went to the House of Mr. Michael Godfrey, and told him that his Master did not come home last Night. God have Mercy upon us (says the Brother) Pray God we hear Good News of him: And Enjoyn'd Moor not to tell any Creature of his Absence, till he Himself, or his Brothers should come to him in the Afternoon. They came accordingly, and Agreed to enquire every where after him, but all under the Seal of Secrecy still: And so he was to keep it close 'till Monday Morning, and Then, till Night; and so 'till Tuesday Morning, 'till the Brothers should have been with my Lord Chancellor; and upon Tuesday Night they Divulg'd it at a Funeral. These Repeated Injunctions of Secrecy, would puzzle the Mayor of Quinborough, and his Brethren, to find a current Reason for. They do as good as Cry, Seek, but do not Find. And why

why Again, Say nothing till we have been with my Lord Chancellor? The Caution, in Truth, might be Prudential enough, in case of his Laying Violent Hands upon himself; but supposing him to be Murther'd by a Malicious Practice, or by Assassins, it would have been a Point of Publique Duty, to Honour and Justice, and an Office of Humanity, Natural Affection, and Respect to the Defunct, Immediately to have spread the Story of it as far as the Post, and Common Fame could carry it. But there's Another Passage yet behind, to the same Point, that makes the Business still more and more Suspicious.

Mr. Wheeler Deposeth, That on Wednesday, October 16. 1678. being in Company with one Mr. Parsons, Mr. Monk, and others, he asked Parsons, What Discourse he had with Sir Edmundbury Godfrey in St. Martins Lane upon Saturday Last? [Parsons.] 'Tis no matter. [Wheeler.] What? a Justice Lost, and You the Last Man in his Company, and not declare what Discourse you had? [Parsons.] Let Mr. Monk tell. To which, Mr. Monk said, What have I to do to tell your Discourse? And thereupon, this Enformant said to Mr. Parsons, If you will not do it here, you shall do it somewhere else: And then Mr. Parsons said, That Sir Edmund asked him three times whereabouts Paddington Woods were; And that he himself asked Sir Edmund if he were buying a Parcel of Land? To which, Sir Edmund replied, No. This Enformant asked the said Parsons, What other Discourse Pass'd? Who Answered him, None; For Sir Edmund was sparing in his Speech. This Enformant putting it further to the said Parsons, Why he was so Loth to tell the Discourse: Parsons made Answer, because Sir Edmund's Clark Desired him to say Nothing on't.

Upon the Whole matter, The Brothers Ty'd up Moor to Secrecy, and Moor Ty'd up Parsons, and there appears No other Reason in Sight, either for the one or for the other, then a Desire to keep it Private: which sounds just as much as an Unwillingness to have it known what was become of him; only the Brothers took care that he should not be Miss'd at Home, and the Clerk that he should not be found abroad; for his Question to Parsons, was the only Light they had so Early, which way to Enquire after him, and Moor took the Hint upon't.

After All This said and Prov'd, 'tis not for Any Man to Doubt, either that Moor Knew, or was likely to know as much of This Private History as any Man: Or of the Brothers knowing as much as Moor Could Tell them: And This being taken for Granted, a Man Methinks might Fancy such Interrogatories to be put to Moor, as might Reasonably open the Way to a Discovery. As for Example now; Directing the Discourse To the Clerk.

Here's the Body of your Dead Master now upon the Table before us; And the Question is How he came by his Death: You have been Constantly near about him, and in his Business; Did You Observe Any Quarrel he had, or Any Desperate Discontent upon him, and for what Cause or Reason? Have You Observ'd him to be more out of Humour of Late, then he was formerly; And Since what Time, and upon what Occasion? Your Master went away from his House upon Saturday Morning Last: How was he the Day before? Did You observe any Bustle of People more then Ordinary about him? How did You find him the Morning that he went away? Did You Gather Any thing from his Looks, VVords, or Actions to give you an Ill-Boding of him? Mr. Parsons, it seems, Spake with him in St. Martins-Lane, That Saturday Morning,

Morning, and Sir Edmund asked him the way to Paddington-woods; And Mr. Parsons told You of it, they say: VVhen did he tell you This? And VVhat Did he tell you of it? Did any body Else tell you of it before? And VVhat did they tell You? And what did You Do upon their Telling it? Now we have reason to Believe that he went his Way to the Place that he Enquir'd for; because Mr. Collins here, one of the Jurors, Saw him afterward talking with a Milk-woman thereabouts: And here's Another of the Inquest, Mr. Mafon, that Saw him after This too, going Back again; And he saw You Your Self too, on the Munday Morning following, going Thitherward to Look for him. The Talk is, that Parsons did not tell You of This 'till Tuesday Night: How came You then to look for him thereabouts upon Munday Morning? But You did go to Look for him However, and it comes from Your own Mouth that You were within a Little of finding him. Where did You Look? And How Near were You to the finding of him? You did not Look for him among the Birds in the Bushes; and You could not expect to find him Picking of Sallads among the Cattle; If You look'd for him in the Ditches, What made You look for him There? Did You find Any thing to make You Suspect he had made Himself away? Parsons told You that he Ask'd the Way to the Woods; but not to the Ditches: So that the Woods were No Light to Direct You to the Ditch, without some Dark reflection upon a Troubled Mind. Or if you Did Search the Ditches, how far did You go? And how came You to Stop Short, and leave the Closest Hiding-Places Yet Unsearch'd, Behind ye? But upon Your Oath, Did You Find the Body at Last, or Not? How came You to tell Pamphlin, You fear'd he was Murder'd? How Came Your Wife, and Pamphlin to Speak Familiarly of it; before the finding of the Body, as if they fear'd he had Kill'd Himself? Pamphlin would say frequently, If the Clerk were Ex-

amin'd he could Speak Much. These Stories are All over the Town already; And that You Your Self own'd such Thoughts of the Business as You were affraid to tell, Were You Enjoyn'd Secrecy by Any Body betwixt Your Masters going away, and the finding of the Body? By Whom? What were the Things You were to keep Private? And what reasons were given; Or what do You Imagine were the Reasons, of that Caution of Privacy? Was there Any thing of Saving the Estate in the Case? What was the True Reason of Your bidding Parsons to say Nothing of his Discourse with Your Master That Morning?

Here's a Great Deal of This that's known to the Jury, Already, The Brothers are able to say more; and You Your Self, without Peradventure, know Most of All. We Expect a Distinct Answer to Every Particular, So Help You God.

Now, These were Points Necessary to be Enquir'd into; and the Necessity of That Enquiry lay so Open, that a Man could hardly Miss a Great many of'em, Unless he would shut his Eyes, and go out of the way on purpose. They knew he went about to Search for his Master: and Certainly it was Worth the While to put the Quere whether he found him or Not. Nay the very Silence, upon that Question, makes it Suspicious that he had found him. I had almost forgot a Deposition that I have of a very Honest Gentleman upon this Subject.

Gabriel Cox Deposeth, That about the time when Mr. Fitz-Harris would have lay'd the Business of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey at the Door of the Earl of Danby, Mr. Benjamin Godfrey came to this Enformant and spake to Him This Enformant about it. Upon This Occasion, the Enformant Enter'd into a Discourse about the Death of Sir Edmund; telling the said Mr.

Mr. Godfrey, that it was a strange Thing to bring in an *Infamous Wench*, as they did, for a *Witness* at the *Trial*; and under the Countenance of a *Servant* in the *Family*, which she never was, but only did *Jobbs* of *Chare-Work* there; and to leave out *Moor* the *Clark*, that would have been a *Witness* of *some Credit*, and could have spoke much to the *Matter*: To which the said Mr. Godfrey made Answer, that *Alas! the Old Fellow knew Nothing*; And so they Parted. After which, This Enformant never heard any thing further from the said Mr. Godfrey.

And then it would not have been Amifs to have Summon'd the *Milk-Woman* Neither; but for Brevities sake (as the Matter was order'd) *Three or Four Lines* did the *Whole Work*, according to a True Copy of the Enformation here Under Following.

The Examination of Henry Moor taken and Acknowledged the same Day and Year upon Oath.

HE saith, That when Sir Edmund Godfrey went last from his House, which was on Saturday last about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, he had then a Lac'd Band about his Neck.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

Henry Moor.

In One Word, the *Logick* of the Proceeding is This; Either Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Kill'd with a *Sword* or *Strangled* with a *Rope*; But Sir Edmundbury Godfrey went out with a *Lac'd Band*, Ergo he was *Suffocatus* & *Strangulatus*; *Anglice Choak'd* and *Strangled*, *cum una Pecia Funis*, *Anglice Rope*. And so here's
a very

a very Honest Account of the *Prémises* and the *Conclusion*.

C H A P. XVIII.

A very Pertinent Evidence of Joseph Radcliffes made Worse then Nothing.

Mr. Joseph Radcliffe was of the Neighbourhood and Acquaintance of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and a Man of *Substance* and *Credit* in the Parish: It was his fortune to have Sir Edmund by the *Hand* before his own Door, *about one of the Clock* on the *Saturday* when he went last from his House. From That time forward, no body could hear what was become of him; but by Flying, and Uncertain Reports, 'till the *Thursday* following, when his *Body* was found *Dead*, toward the *Evening* in a *Ditch* near *Primrose-Hill*. A *Jury* was hereupon *Summon'd*, which met the Next Day at the *White-house*; from whence, After some Hours Debate upon the Matter in View, and the *Examining* of *Witnesses*, they *Adjourn'd* to the Next day, and at the *Rose and Crown* in *St. Giles's*, they agreed upon their *Verdict*. Thither it was that *Mr. Joseph Radcliffe* and his *Wife* were *Summon'd* to give *Evidence* upon the Matter in Question: and Such as it was, there was Great Stress lay'd upon it, for Clearing the Point in Issue. And there let it rest 'till we come to the *Enformations Themselves*.

The *Town* was at That Time full of the Discourse of Sir Godfreys Strange Carriage lately, at *Mrs Gibbons's*, and the odness of his *Behaviour* at *St. Martins-Kestry* the Day before: and in short, Considering the Familiar Conversation betwixt them; The Frequen-

cy of their Meetings about Parish-Business; and Especially the Chance-Encounter in the Strand before Spoken of, Mr. Radcliffe might appear a very Proper Witness to be Examined upon This Occasion; as a Person likely enough in many Respects to know somewhat of the Privacies of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. Briefly, He and his Wife were Examined; but upon what Pretence, and to what Purpose, will be better seen in the Following Enformations.

Midd. ff.

The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of St. Martins in the Fields taken upon Oath the 19th Day of Octob. 1678. before Me.

HE saith, that on Friday was Seven-night, there was a Vestry held for St. Martin's Parish, at which Sir Edmund Godfrey was, and after the Vestry broke up there was a perfect Account made up and Discharg'd betwixt Sir Edmund Godfrey and St. Martins Parish touching 4 l. received by Sir Edmund of Mr. Bradbury late Surveyor of the High-Ways, whereof 40 s. was paid back to Mr. Bradbury by Sir Edmund, by the Consent of some of the Vestry, and the other 40 s. he paid to this Enformant, whereof this Deponent paid Sir Edmund 13 s. which he had formerly laid out about the High-Way of St. Martins Parish, and the other 27 s. this Enformant hath in his Custody, for the use of the said Parish. And this Enformant further saith, That during the Time he was Church-warden in his last Year 1677. he Stated the Accounts of St. Martins Parish and found the Parish Debtor to Sir Edmund about 148 l. of which he Paid him 100 l. and the remainder hath been Since paid by his Successor Charles Monck; and on Friday was Seven-night, Sir Edmund was in This Enformants company, with

with Mr. Heames till about Nine of the Clock, and was in a Pleasant good Even Humor and Temper, and This Enformant verily believes that he saw him passing by this Enformants door, about One of the Clock on the Morrow, being Saturday the Twelfth of this Instant.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

J. Radcliffe.

M. Eleanor Radcliffe, Wife of the said Joseph, saith, that on Saturday Last about One of the Clock Sir Edmund Godfrey pass'd by her House.

Jo. Cowper
Coroner.

Eleanor Radcliffe.

Here's a Parish-Reck'ning brought in Evidence upon Oath, to Prove that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Strangled: No body knew When, Where, or by Whom: And an Argument drawn in Confirmation of it, from his being seen Alive at such an Hour of the Day: The First Day's Debate held a Long Tugg upon Killing Himself, or being Kill'd; and when they could not Carry it for the Latter, That Bout, they Adjourn'd, and This was the Evidence that did the Feat upon the Second Meeting: though not one Syllable of Force in it more then what was Testified at the White-House. It seems a Wonderful Thing, that to Questions, that were put so much Beside One Purpose, Answers should be given that lay so Far for the Other, [He was in a Pleasant, Good, Even, Humour and Temper the Night Before.] That is to say, he was not in a Mind to Destroy himself. Brown Represents him lying Dead in a Ditch; As who should say, He did not do it Himself; Nay he Philosophizes upon the Clean-ness of his Shoes too; And Reasons upon it, that he did

did not *Eling* himself upon his *Sword*; for he should have *Seen* the *Print* of the *Pummel* then. *Morgan* was near the *Pond*, and *Saw* *No* *Body*. *Brummells* and *Walters* *Enformation* is *Worded*, that his *Sword* *Was* *Thrust* through his *Body*, though *Bromwell* very lately made *Exceptions* to Those *Words* [*Was* *Thrust*] through his *Body*, at the *Reading* of it: And says further, that they gave an *Account*, also of the *Posture* they found him in, though here's *No* *Mention* of it at *All*. Now it falls out *Unluckily*, that *Every* *Bowle* should be made to carry the *same* *Biafs*. But This *Enformation* yet before the *Coroner* under Such *Circumstances*, shall not *Divert* Me from *Confronting* it with *Another* of a *Later* *Date* from the *Same* *Hand*: Nay, And *That* shall be *Back'd* with *Another* too; and it will be *Then* time to pass some *Reflections* upon the *Whole*.

Midd. } *The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe*
& West. } *of the Parish of St. Martins in the*
Fields, Oyle-Man, Taken Upon Oath
May 11. 1686.

S *Aith*, That there was a *Vestry* held in the *Parish* of *St. Martins in the Fields*, upon the *11th* of *Octob.* *1678.* being *Friday*, where This *Enformant* was present, and that a *Little* before the *rising* of the said *Vestry*, towards the *Evening*, *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey* came *Hastily* in, and took his *Usual* *Place*; and as the *Vestry* was about to *Rise*, the said *Sir Edmund* went out of the *Room*, and *Call'd* to This *Enformant* to go along with him, which he did accordingly. As they were upon the *Way*, he told This *Enformant* that he fear'd he had done *Harry Bradbury* *Wrong*, and was resolv'd to *Right* him That *Night*, and so desired This *Enformant* to *Assist* him

him therein. The said Sir Edmund then looking behind him, and seeing Mr. James Hemes, Another of the Vestry, he took him along with him, This Enformant going along with them to Collonel Weldens.

And that being come to the said Collonel's, Sir Edmund desired This Enformant to help him off with his Coat, who Minded him that the Weather was Cold: Sir Edmund replying, However he would have it off. This Enformant help'd him off with it, and Sir Edmund then took it, and threw it on to the Window, and then went and seated himself at a Table at the Other End of the Room: This Enformant observing something Extraordinary in the Manner of the Thing; and sitting down at the same Table next to him, Ask'd him what it was that Troubled him about the said Harry Bradbury? Sir Edmund Answering, that he had made Bradbury pay Forty Shillings for Another bodies Fault; and that if This Enformant would Agree to't, he should be Repay'd the Forty Shillings: Whereupon, by Consent, Mr. Bradbury was sent for. And Sir Edmund did then tell This Enformant that he had some Parish-Mony in his Hand, and that he would put the said Mony into the Hands of This Enformant, (who had been lately Church-Warden, and had some Parish Accounts in his Hands) Desiring This Enformant to Pay Mr. Bradbury the Forty Shillings out of the said Mony; Sir Edmund thereupon Delivering the Mony he had in his hands, to This Enformant, who pay'd Mr. Bradbury, when he came, the Forty Shillings aforesaid. This Enformant hereupon said to Sir Edmund, You are in a very good Mind. Who Reply'd, Yes, I am resolv'd to settle All my Bus'ness to Night; and the Accounts shall be brought in Your Name, and Not in Mine.

This Enformant observing that he Pass'd from One Thing to Another; Ask'd him if he had done Now? Whose Answer was, that he had not done Yet; saying there-

thereupon, that he us'd to give Ten Shillings a Week to the Poor in Bread, and that he that had Bak'd it ~~He~~ therto should do it No Longer; Mr. Bradbury, upon That, (being a Baker) Ask'd him if he should do it? Sir Edmund asking This Enformant what he would Advise; who told him, that he was the Master of his own Charity; Sir Edmund saying then, that Mr. Bradbury should do it, and that he Would Charge, or that he Had Charg'd it by his Will, to be paid out of the Rent of some Houses that he had in Westminster. This Enformant asking him again, Sir Edmund have you done Now? Sir Edmund saying No, I have not done Yet; for the Parish is now in My Debt, and so Reckon'd an odd Summe which This Enformant paid him upon the Place. This Enformant asked him a Third Time, if he had done Yet; Sir Edmund replying Yes: and Clapping his Hand upon his Breast, said, that Now he was at Quiet: After which, Sir Edmund rose up, and Desir'd This Enformant to Help him on with his Coat, which he did. The said Sir Edmund repeating that his Conscience was Clear.

And further; that as they were drinking a Glass of Beer, This Enformant Asked the said Sir Edmund, What News; Who made Answer, That in a short time, You will hear of the Death of Some-body, or the Murther, (This Enformant doth not remember which of the Two Words) Sir Edmund saying that he was Confident He Himself should be the First. Whereupon Mr. Hemes aforesaid Desired him if he fear'd any such Thing, that he would not go abroad without Company: Sir Edmund Answering, that his Conscience was Clear, that he Car'd for No Company, and that he Fear'd No Body.

And This Enformant being Interrogated concerning the Evening of so many accounts, whether he had had any Discourse with the said Sir Edmund about Those Accounts before? He This Enformant Answereth, that there had been no such Discourse,

course, and that he never knew any thing of that Nature done in so sudden a manner before.

And further faith, That about one of the Clock on the Next Day, being Saturday, the said Sir Edmund Passing by the Door of This Enformant, He this Enformant asked him to come in, and Dine with him; but he said he was in hast, and could not stay; and so having this Enformant by the Hand, he took away his Hand, and went hastily away, speaking very earnestly, insomuch that this Enformant wondered at it, he having been usually Freer, and Easier with This Enformant.

This Enformant referreth himself upon the Matters contain'd in this Enformation, to the best of his Knowledge and Memory.

Jurat. die & Anno Supradicto coram me.

J. Radcliffe.

Ro. L'Estrange.

The Reader will find little in This Enformation to the Tune of the Pleasant, Good, Even Humour and Temper, in the Enformation before the Coroner. There's too much on't, to be Natural, and the Synonymals one upon the Neck of Another, favour more of the Skill of the Clark, then of the Faith of the Reporter. In which Case, many times there goes but the Dash of a Pen to the Mending of a Short Evidence.

The Second Deposition of Mr. Radcliffe seems to me to have a great many Notable Passages in it. Sir E.G. had a Mind to make even with the World. The Fit took him at That Instant, and all must be done That Night. Bradbury was to have his Forty Shillings; The Parish Accounts to be Adjusted in All Hast; He told the Company what Care he had taken for the Continuance of his Charity. And now (says he, clapping his Hand upon his Breast)

I am at Quiet; Call'd for his Coat, and went over with it again; *My Conscience is Clear*. His *Motions*, and his *Actions* in the Room; The *Vehemency* of his *Words*; His *Hudling* of so many things over in such a Disorder; His *Starting* from one thing to Another, and all to be Dispatch'd upon That Point of Time: And then the Winding up of the Conversation with a *Foreboding* of his *Death* or *Murder*; The Company might be well allow'd to *Judge*, and to *Observe*, These Things Consider'd that there was somewhat very Extraordinary in his Mind.

Upon the Comparing of These Two Enformations it seems very remarkable, that the *Former* delivers it as the *Opinion* of Mr. *Radcliffe*, that Sir Godfrey was Last Night in a *Pleasant Good Even Humour and Temper*, when the *Latter*, in *Fact*, sets him forth to have been the *Clean Contrary*: So that the *Whole Story* of the *Disorder* is not only *Omitted*, but Apparently *Contradicted* by the *Other Insinuation*. The Question is, How Godfrey came by his *Death*; and what *Radcliffe* could say toward the Clearing of That Matter. Now the *Jury* being Divided whether he Destroyed *Himself*; or was *Murder'd* by *Other People*, it was a thing very much to their Purpose, to Enform themselves what *Humour* he was in, either *soon before*, or *upon his going away*. The Question was put to *Radcliffe* about the seeing of him *That Saturday*, and what he could say further to the Matter they had before them. The *Coroners Enformation* says, he verily Believes he saw him; In the *Other*, he *Swears* that he had him by the *Hand*, and *Invited* him to *Dinner*; Nay, and Mr. *Radcliffe* calls to mind that he Objected at that very Time to the *Expression*. *Why*, says he, 'tis More than Believing; for I Know it: And some body made Answer, If you Know it, you Believe it. It is observable again, that there was a most Industrious Separation in the Examination before the *Coroner* of some Parts of the Story from the Rest; and par-

ticularly, that *Those Passages were made use of, that were not one jot to the Purpose*; and others left out, that in *All Appearance would have given the Jurors the Best Light they had, toward the Governing of the following Verdict*. What was the *Account, or Discount* among the *Parish-Officers* to the *Question of Felo de se, or Not*? That *Account*, Barely, I mean, without *Godfrey's Part* in the *Disorderly Circumstances* that *Attended it*. The *Charge and Discharge*, of it self, was utterly *Impertinent*; but the *Other* could not be well *Understood*, but in *Company* with the *Relation* it had to the *Bus'ness of the Reck'nings, Bradbury's Forty Shillings*; The *Settling of his Charity*; And *All must be Finished That Night too*; which seems to *Imply an Apprehension* he had, that he should never *Live to Another Opportunity* of doing it. Now *This* was the *Point* that should have been *Pressed, Inculcated, and Insisted upon*; and it would have done much better to have lay'd the *Fact at Length* before the *Jury*, without any *Gloss* upon't, on the *One Hand*, then to *Deliver a Partial, and an Ungrounded Opinion*, without so much as one *Syllable of the Plain Truth of Fact*, on the *Other*. The whole *Matter under Deliberation* resolves shortly in to *This*; Was *Sir Godfrey* under any *Trouble, and Distress of Thought, or Not*? This is the *Truth of the Story*, says the *One Side*; And let the *Jurors* Judge upon't whether he *Was, or No*. Now the *Other side* is for giving the *Opinion*, without the *Story*; And it was *Prudently done*; for the *Naked Narrative* of the *Fact*, and That *Judgment of his Even Humour* could never have stood together.

I was affraid least this *Diversity of Countenance* from the same *Person*, might prove *Injurious*, either to the *Cause*, or to the *Witness*, if I should let it go off Thus without something of an *Explanatory Animadversion* upon it: Wherefore I communicated the *Matter* to *Mr. Radcliffe Himself*, who told me that he would
sue.

suddenly give me a Plain Account of the Whole Affair; and I received from him in his own *Hand-Writing* the *Declaratory Enformation* here following upon That Subject.

The Enformation of Joseph Radcliffe of the Parish of St. Martins in the Fields, Oylman, taken upon Oath, Jan. 10. 1687.

THAT when he was Examined by John Cowper, Coroner of Middlesex, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, on the 19th. day of October, 1678. He this Deponent did tell the said Coroner and his Jury All the Passages that he had observ'd in Sir Edmund Godfrey on the 11th. and 12th. Days of the same Month, which was as near as this Deponent can declare the very same. This Deponent did declare to Sir Roger L'Estrange, when he was Examined by the said Sir Roger concerning Sir E. B. Godfrey on the 11th. day of May, 1686. But Three or Four of the said Coroners Jury, did often Thwart and Interrupt this Deponent in his Enformation, and said it was too Long, and they would not stay, or could not stay, while that Long Discourse could be writ, and desired the Coroner to Abbreviate the Discourse, and take so much of it as he thought fit; which he did do, in Manner and Form, as it is to be seen under This Deponents Hand. But this Enformant remembreth withal, that at the same time, some of the Jurors were Earnest to have the Whole Evidence Taken; but were Over-ruled by the Persons afore said.

Now According to the way of Abbreviation in Those Days, they took That, which was good for Nothing, and threw out the Rest. But to say a Word now to the Reason of the Thing, as well as to the Evidence: A Man can very hardly Imagin, how Mr. Radcliffe should

should give them the History of the *Accounts*, without the *Connexion* of *Sir Edmund's* Calling for This, and for That ; and his Distracted Manner of Skipping from One Thing to Another : So that *All the Extravagances* were *Omitted* upon *Choice*. Now if it be reasonable to believe, that Mr. *Radcliffe* told the *Coroner* the Circumstances that Pass'd at That Meeting, it is hardly Credible, that he should conclude *Sir Edmund's Pleasant Even Humour* ; from a *Behaviour* that carry'd along with it so many *Proofs* of the *Contrary* : So that the *Qualification* might be Possibly the *Clark's Comment* upon Mr. *Radcliffe's Text*. But there are Two Questions here that will Naturally Occur. First, Was that Mr. *Radcliffe's* Evidence, or Not? 2ly. Was it True, or Not True, that he was upon That *Friday*, so *Ease*, and so *Well dispos'd*? As to the *Former*, Mr. *Radcliffe* is too much a Man of *Sense*, to Describe a Person in the very *Paroxisme* of a *Sickly Freak* ; and at the same Time to give Those *Transports* the Character of a *Pleasant Even Temper*. And now for the Other Point of Whether *True* or *False*. His *Distemper* was so evident, and well known, that his Behaviour on That *Friday* was become *Town-Talk* : He put One Whole Family to their *Wits End* almost, at the *Sight* of him. That very *Friday* at *Noon*, Mrs. *Birtby*, Bless'd her self, at the very *Walk*, *Action*, and *Looks* of the Man that *Afternoon* in *Drury-Lane*, when she knew not who he was. He was going from thence to a *Vestry* in *St. Marrins*, and call'd at Mr. *Bradburies*, whose Evidence we shall here find Exactly to agree with Mr. *Radcliffe's*, in a Confirmation of his very Great *Trouble* and *Discontent* that Day.

Midd. } The Enformation of Henry Bradbury
& West. } II. of the Parish of St. Martins in the
Fields, taken upon Oath, January 10.
1687.

SAITH, That upon Friday (the Day before Sir Edmund-
bury Godfrey was first missing from his House) about,
or near Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the said Sir
Edmund came to the House of this Enformant, and said, he
was going to the Vestry, and that he would make up certain
Accounts Relating to this Enformant, telling him, that after
the Vestry should be over, he would go to Collonel Wel-
dens, and send for this Enformant, to see that some Order
might be taken about it.

He came through the House to this Enformant in a very
Unusual Manner; And this Enformant observ'd such
Signs of Trouble, and Discontent in him, that it made
this Enformant at that present very much wonder what should
be the meaning of it.

And saith, That the said Sir Edmund went his way (as
this Enformant believes) to the Vestry; and about an hour
after, one came to this Enformant, telling him, that the said
Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe desired to see him at Collo-
nel Weldens, whether this Enformant went, and there
found Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Mr. Radcliffe, and Mr.
Hemes; and then the said Sir Edmund and Mr. Radcliffe
set all the Accounts right before spoken of.

This Enformant was there (as he believeth) an Hour
or two in the Company; and remembereth very well that he
appeared to this Enformant in very Great Disorder still,
and rather worse then at the House of this Enformant; the
said Sir Edmund desiring Mr. Radcliffe, upon his going a-
way, to Help him on with his Coat.

Jurat' die & Anno Su-
pradicto coram me.

R. L'Estrange.

Henry Bradbury.

X 3

And

And then there was Mr. *Wheeler*, Captain *Bridal* (as will be seen in his Enformation) Mr. *Herringman*, and others, at a *Vestry* in *St. Martins*, where Sir *Edmund* behav'd himself at such a Rate, that every Bodies Eye was upon him: And it was in every Bodies Mouth after the Adjournment, What should Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* Ail.

Walter Bydal, Esq; Deposeth, That upon the Friday, next before the Saturday, when Sir *E. Godfrey* was said to go last from his House; This Enformant was present at a *Vestry*, then held in *St. Martins Parish* (being a Member thereof;) And that the said Sir *Edmund* (being likewise a Member thereof) came in, and sat down; and contrary to his usual Practice, said Little, or Nothing. This Enformant observing at the same Time something Chaſtly in his Countenance, and Wonder'd what might be the Matter.

And that upon the *Vestry* breaking up, This Enformant with several Others of the *Vestry* withdrew to a Tavern, the said Sir *Edmund* being gone off another Way; And being together at the said Tavern, the Company fell into Discourse about him, and wondred at his Chaſtly Looks.

From thence (according to Mr. *Racliffe's* Enformation) he went to *York Buildings*: And it is not likely that he should leap all of a sudden out of so Disfmal a *Melancholy*, as is Prov'd upon him, into that Pleasant Humour, as it stands before the *Coroner*. Nay, and he goes Home after this too, and burns as many Papers at Hap-hazzard, as his Servant *Pamphlins Apron* would hold: But they kept Aloof still from the Argument of his *Melancholy*; And what ever Evidence struck in upon That Topique, was sure to be Cramp'd and Baffled.

There

There remains yet the Evidence of Mrs. *Mary Gibbon*, which in Truth does not stand so properly upon the File of the *Enformations* taken before the *Coroner*, though it comes to me for one of That Number. There's *No Date* to't, nor any thing to distinguish it from those that were sworn before the *Inquest*: But I find that it was Taken upon *Sunday, October 20. 1678.* After the *Jury* had Deliver'd up their *Verdict*. It would have done well however, if it might have pass'd for one of the *Enformations* that came in *Due Season*; because it look'd Ill-Favouredly to take in *John-a-Nokes*, and *John-a-Styles*, and *I know not whom*, to *I know not what*, and leave a Family so well known for *Sir Edmundbury Godfreys Intimate Friends*; and in particular to leave so *Material a Witness* as this same Mrs. *Gibbons* wholly *Unexamin'd*. But I shall find a Place for *This Witness* among those that were left *Unsummon'd*; and, in *Probability*, could have said more to the Purpose then All the Rest.

We have had Ill Luck hitherto with these *Enformations*; for they run all the same way; All *Suppressions* and *Misunderstandings* are still in *Favour* of the same side; But it is *One Thing* not to *Emprove the Means* of finding a *Truth*; and *Another Thing* to *Stifle*, or to *Oppose Those Means*. As for Instance now in the *Next Chapter*.

C H A P. XIX.

The Opening of the Body had certainly Discover'd the Cause of Sir E. B. G's Death: And it was Advis'd and Propounded by Doctors, Friends, and Surgeons, but Rejected.

THE *Allyance* that was by this time Contracted betwixt the Pretended Murder, and the Pretended Plot, had made the Credit of the Story so Sacred, that there was No Touching of the One, without giving a Box o'th' Ear to the Other; and consequently, no Longer any Way, or Hope left, of Arriving at the Truth, but by breaking in upon Principalities and Powers. Under the Awe of This Influence it was, that Evidences were Shorten'd, or Stretch'd, or Smother'd, or Baffled, in favour of the Imposture; and No Relief in the Case, but that of a Dutch Appeal, from mine Host in the Inn, to Mijn Heer upon the Bench, where he does Himself Right, in the Quality, of both a Judge and a Party, in the same Person. There will be the less Need of Amplifying in this Place upon Particular Instances of Persons, Practices, and Methods, in Regard that I have already spent one Whole Chapter at Large upon This Subject, Part. I. Cap. 10. But there was one Passage upon This Occasion, that must not be either Omitted, or Forgotten.

There was one General Rule to Walk by, which was to make every Man a Papist, that Cross'd the Design of the Then Prevailing Faction; and after the Fastning of That Brand upon him, it was but the Lip-Labour of Kissing a Book to Swear him into a Traytor; for they Manag'd their Treasons, as Dyers do their Colours; that

first lay on one, to make the Stuff take t' other. This was the Snare that was set for Mr. Richard Wheeler, a Man of Sense, Credit, and Estate; but he was too Nimble for 'em, and so they snapt Short. The Relation of it will be best in his own Words.

Richard Wheeler Deposeth, That on Friday Morning (October 18.) the Day after Sir Edmund's Body was found; Mr. Cowper, having been (as this Enformant heard) to see the Body, came into the Exchange, and told how Sir Edmund was Wheedled out, and Murther'd in such a Place: For that Mr. Collins the Brewer had met him in Marybone-Fields: Hereupon, this Enformant Declaring what Cowper had said; and What He Himself had Observ'd,

That upon the Monday Morning, this Enformant going to his Shop, one Mr. Templer said to this Enformant, There are Rods in Piss for you. To which this Enformant replied, For what? Saying he had done no Man any Wrong: The said Mr. Templer replying, Sir Edmunds Brothers have been here, to enquire what Religion you are of. Upon which this Enformant came into the Exchange, and met Mr. Cowper, telling him what Mr. Templer had said; and saying that he the said Cowper must Clear himself: For he this Enformant had Witnesses enough to prove what he had said. Whereupon Cowper asked this Enformant what he should do? To which this Enformant asked him, Do you know who told you so? Cowper said, Yes, I do. Why then, said this Enformant, I'll go along with you to him, being told it was an Ale-house-Keeper in So-ho: So this Enformant and Mr. Cowper went to the said Ale-house-Keeper, where this Enformant took Occasion to say, that they were going to see the Place where Sir Edmund's Body Lay, to which, the Ale-house-keeper said, That Sir Edmund was wheedled out, and Murther'd; for Mr. Collins said, That he met Sir Edmund that Saturday

turday in Mary-bone Fields. Whereupon, This Enformant, Mr. Cowper, and the Ale-house Keeper, went All Three to Mr. Collins, and found him at Home; who told them, that he did meet with him, as aforesaid, Talking with a Milk-woman, And that he said, Good Morrow Sir Edmund, who reply'd, Good Morrow Mr. Collins. This Enformant then asked Mr. Collins, (being One of the Coroner's Inquest) how he came to Find him Murder'd: To which He reply'd, that Mr. Radcliffe and his Servant, and his next Neighbour's Servant, swore him to be at Radcliff's Door, at One of the Clock upon the Saturday. This Enformant did then ask the said Collins, Whether or No he Summon'd the Milk-woman? who told him No. How should they find her? This Enformant Objecting it to him, that for a Crown, or such a Matter, he might have found her out.

This was according to the Scheme of the Politiques of That Season. Will Wheeler be meddling with Our Primrose-hill Matters? What Religion is he of? This is only Demurring to My Clyent's Beard (as a Lawyer of Famous Memory has it) and not one Hair to the Matter in Question. Had they been but Half as Inquisitive after Collins's Milkwoman, as they were about Mr. Wheeler's Religion, it would have been much more to Common Satisfaction: But every thing was Distorted and Emprov'd (if it may be said so) the Wrong Way. The Advice of Surgeons was not only Reasonable, but Necessary, in a Matter where there fell so many Important Circumstances under their Peculiar Cognizance: But the Removal of the Body, and the Drawing the Sword out; had so Confounded the Signs and Accidents they were to have form'd a Judgment upon, that there was scarce Room for any more then the Bare Conjectural Suspicion of a Possible Strangulation: But now as the Surgeons Opinion was taken upon the Main, as to the Probable Cause of his Death, it would have been Well, if Those
that

that had the Care and Power of the Body, after the Verdict, had found it as reasonable to Comply with the Council, and Importunity of Friends, as well as of Men of Art, toward as Certain a Discovery of the Truth of the Matter, as if they had been Eye-Witnesses of the Execution. The Opening of the Body is the Expedient that I speak of; which, as I am Credibly Enform'd, was Mov'd and Insisted upon by some of the Inquest upon the Debate, however it come to be Carry'd in the Negative.

There was the King's Life, the Peace of his Dominions, An Imperial Monarchy; The Prerogative of the Royal Family; Religion, Liberty and Property all (in a Great Measure) at stake upon the Issue of This Question. Now it must be some Consideration of Mighty Weight sure; some Greater Good on the One side, then the Preservation of All These Sacred Interests was Worth; Or some Greater Evil, on the other, then the Embroyling, and Confounding of them All, that could with any Colour of Justice, or Reason, stand in Competition with the Consequences of Denying This Request; We saw how Near the Mistake of This Matter came to the Destroying of Three Kingdoms: And All for want of Clearing This One Point. And now to Balance all These Hazards, let but the World Produce One Colourable Pretence for the refusal of it; and I will Allow Bedloes, and Prances Depositions to be as Authentique as the Truest of Oracles. Where's the Dishonour, the Inconvenience, the Trouble, the Unlawfulness: Nay, or so much as the Least Scruple either in Reputation, or in Conscience, in Consenting to the Opening of a Dead Body? 'Tis done in some Cases, upon the Account of Decency and respect; in Others, out of Curiosity, and Experiment; In some again, to find out what Disease the Man Dy'd of; and the Bus'ness was Here, to have Gather'd from it by what Sort of Violence he came to his Death.

Death. I have Beat my Head upon't, and when People will be running me down, that the *Only* reason for *Refusing* the *Only* Means of knowing Certainly how Sir Edmund came by his Death; could be No other then because they would not have it known; If I were to Dye, I cannot find so much as one Colour of an Answer to't. But I am now Coming to shew, that the Thing was *Propos'd*, and *Rejected*.

The Opening of the Body was Desir'd by Dr. Lloyd, (the Present Bishop of St. Asaph) and by Dr. Goodall; and his Lordship gives This Account of it, that [The Brothers or One of them would not Harken to This Proposal; He said that None had ever Yet been Open'd of their Family, and that it was not Necessary for the Keeping of the Body, for so short a Time as they intended to Keep it.] This Account bears Date, April 16. 1686.

I shall Second the Enformation Above, with some other Testimonies of Undoubted Truth, and Weight in further Proof of the same Matter.

The Enformation of Dr. Charles Goodall of St. Martins in the Fields, Taken upon Oath, April 9. 1686.

SAITH, That at the Time when the Dead Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey lay Expos'd at his House in Harts-horn Lane, This Enformant having seen the said Body, had some Discourse about it, to the Best of his Remembrance, with Mr. Thomas Hobbs, who did both Agree in Opinion, that it would be a Great Satisfaction to the World to have the Body Open'd.

And This Enformant did think it so Necessary to be done, that he Requested the Dean of Bangor to use his Interest with the Brothers, or One of them; to Consent to the Opening of the Body; that it might be Inspected by
Phy-

Physicians, and Surgeons; The said Dean very much Approving of the Proposal; And telling This Enformant afterward, that he had Earnestly Press'd the Matter to One of the Brothers, if not Both, Who (as the Dean told This Enformant) did not think fit to have it done. This Enformant being Induc'd to a More then Ordinary Earnestness of Desire to have the Body open'd, upon This Consideration, that it was the Way to prevent Clamour, and to give some Reasonable Satisfaction, whether he Dy'd of the Wound or of Suffocation.

The Enformation of Mr. Thomas Hobbs of the Parish of St. Clements Danes, Surgeon, Taken upon Oath, April 8th. 1686.

S AITH, That This Enformant being Interrogated, Whether or No, he knew of any Proposal made for the Opening of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, While the said Body lay at the House of the Late Sir Edmund? He This Enformant maketh Answer, That to the Best of This Enformants Memory, He Himself upon Discourse with Dr. Goodall about the Death of the said Sir Edmund; This Enformant spake to Dr. Goodall (He This Enformant having newly seen the Body) to This Effect: This Bus'ness of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey makes a Great deal of Noise; And I think it would do well for General satisfaction, if a Physician and Surgeon from the Court, and some Eminent Physician and Surgeon from the City, should Joyn in the Opening, and Inspecting the Body: By which means they might have known how he came by his Death. To which Dr. Goodall agreed, as a very Reasonable Thing, and said he would propound it: And the said Doctor told This Enformant afterward, that he had Propounded it (as This Enformant remembers) to Dr. Lloyd; Dr. Goodall telling This Enformant

formant also, that the said Dr. Lloyd had Propounded it to the Brothers, whose Answer was to This Purpose, That the Coroners Inquest had found it Murther, and they would not Trouble Themselves any further: *All which This Enformant Delivers to the Best of his Knowledge and Memory.*

There was a Time, when the *stabbing Question* was, [*Ay, but who Murther'd Sir Edmundbury Godfrey?*] Now What if a Man should Answer it with a *Another Question!* *Ay, but who were They that might have known and Would not, how he came by his Death?*] Nay, the very Sword it self would have told Tales, if the Question had but been put to't; but I look upon That Omission as a Thing not Thought of. I have Caused several *Sword-Cutlers*, and Men of Skill and Experience in their Bus'ness, to be Consulted about This Point; and not with any Leading Questions Neither; but Barely, and Simply, *What Colour will the Warm Bloud of a Man leave upon the Blade of a Sword, and how shall a Body know it from any Other sort of Rust?* To which I have received This Account.

We the Subscribers hereof, do Affirm, and Declare, and are ready to Attest upon Oath, that according to our Observation, the Blade of a Sword that has been Thrust into the Body of a Living Man, is of a Different Colour from a Blade that is Canker'd with rust, upon Water or any Ordinary Wetting of it; and that if the Sword be Wiped, upon the Drawing of it out of the Body, It will have a kind of a Dark Lead Colour; but Otherwise it will Look like a redder kind of Rust.

John Hill.
Joseph Smith.
Rich. Hayes.

We're

We'll See now as Briefly as we can, how far the Observation of Several of the Jurors Themselves agrees with This Judgment of the Sword-Cutlers.

John Cowley Deposeth, That upon an Exact view of the Sword, This Enformant Observed That Part of the Blade, which was in the Body, to be Discolour'd, as if it had been Stain'd with Bloud and Water.

Thomas Wloollams Deposeth, That he took Particular Notice of the Sword which was said upon Oath to be taken out of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and that he Observed the Colour of That Part which had been in the Body to be Darker then the rest.

Simon Standeber Deposeth, That he Observed the Colour of the Sword as it lay before the Jury, and found that That Part of the Sword that was in the Body was quite of Another Colour then the rest that was out of the Body.

Thomas Mason Deposeth, That he Observed the Sword, as it was shewed to the Jury, to be of a kind of Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and Distinguishable from the Other Parts of the Sword.

John Hartwell Deposeth, That he Observ'd the Sword to be of a kind of a Blackish Blew, or Lead Colour, so far as it was in the Body, and of a Colour Distinguishable from other Parts of the Sword.

We have had Such a Superabundance of more Pregnant and Convincing Arguments and Evidences, that I should not so much as have Mention'd This Particular, but that there's somewhat of Curiosity in it as well as of Use.

We

We have now pass'd through the Several Points in order, as they were laid down in the Course of our Distribution concerning the *Sufficiency* of the *Proofs Produc'd*; The *Sincerity* of making the *Best* of them in Matters whereof the *Examiners* had *Certain Knowledge*; the *Competency* of the *Witnesses* that were *Summon'd*, and the *Best* Improvement also of what they *Did* say, and of what in *Likelyhood*, and *Reason* they might be able to say *More*. I shall pass now to a Consideration of some *Witnesses* that were not *Summon'd*, and might have been more *Serviceable*, in *Common Probability*, to the Satisfaction of the *Jury*, upon the *Enquiry* they had *Then before* them, then any of the rest.

C H A P. XX.

Mrs. Gibbon's Enformation Compared with the Coroners Report, and the Matter submitted to All Indifferent Men, whether the Design throughout was to Discover the Truth, or to Stifle it. With an Appendix for a Conclusion.

Here's a *Subject*, a *Magistrate*, a *Master*, a *Friend*, a *Relation*, and an *Acquaintance*, Lost in the Person of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; and All these Circumstances are to be *Consulted* toward the *finding out* what is *become* of him: Now in Order to such a *Discovery*, a Man Naturally *Bethinks* himself somewhat to This Purpose; What *Confidences* had he? What *Haunts*? What *Persons* were Most *Privy* to his *Affairs*, his *Ways*, and *Humors*? What *Servants*? Who saw him when he went away from his *House*? Who saw him *Afterward*? In whose *Company* was he *Last*? &c;
There's

There's Nothing more Familiar, or Reasonable, then such Enquiries as These, provided they be made in the Proper Place, and Apply'd to the Right Persons: So that the Brothers were well advis'd, upon the First Missing of him, to go to Coll. Weldens; (his Common Baiting-Place) to hearken after him. His Servant Pamphlin goes the Next day to Mrs. Gibbons, upon the same Errand; and so did the Brothers on the Monday, as one of Sir Edmunds Ancient, and Particular Friends. It is to be taken for Granted, that they did not Forget to Examine Sir Edmunds Domestiques, What They Knew; What they Thought; What they Observ'd; and it is as Little to be Doubted, that the Servants gave them All the Lights they could, upon such Questions. The reason of the Thing Carry'd them still forward upon the same Train of Likely-hoods, to Enquire of Parsons, Mason, Collins, and the Milk-woman, to Learn what he said, What he Did, How he Look'd, Which way he Went, &c. and who knows but Such a Trayle might have brought them to the Ditch where he was found? But, to the Admiration of All People, we do not find that any One of All These Persons (Harry Moor only Excepted, with his Lac'd Band) was Formally, and Publickly Examin'd about This Matter; Nor so much as one Question put, with any sort of Tendency, or the Least Appearance of Good-will, toward an Effectual Discovery, as we have already Set forth, in an Orderly Series of Observations upon This Topique: And there Needs No Better Proof of This Assertion, then the Testimony of the Enformations Themselves.

I find (t'is true) an Enformation of Mrs. Gibbons among the Coroners Papers; but the Verdict was over before it was Taken. It was by Command, not by Choice; and how it was Manag'd, will appear upon a Collation of other Circumstances with the Enformation.

It was, it seems, by the *Special Order* of my Lord Chancellor Nottingham, that Mr. Cowper the Coroner took This Enformation of Mrs. Gibbon; and his Direction (as he told her) was to Examine her upon Oath, what Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Said to her, about a Fortnight before his Death. (As we shall see by and by.) This gives to Understand that the Matter in Question was a Thing of very great Importance, for his Lordship would never have thought the Cause worth a Review, if he had not been told something very Extraordinary concerning That Encounter. Now to Expound the Story, there was a very remarkable Passage, upon a Visit that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey made to Mrs. Gibbons on Tuesday, the First of October 1678. And Thats the Busness the Coroner was now to take an Account of. But This Enformation has had the Fortune, I perceive, of the rest of it's Fellows, to come into the World *Lame*, and *Imperfect*; to the Degree of Defeating the very Intent of the Examination. But briefly, Whatever it was, the Coroner Undoubtedly Attended my Lord Chancellor with a Copy of the Enformation, and an Answerable Report upon the Whole Matter, as here under-follows.

Midd. ss. *The Enformation of Mary Wife of Thomas Gibbon Esq; taken upon Oath before me.*

SHE saith, That about a fortnight last past, in an Afternoon, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey came to her House in Old Southampton Buildings, and upon Discourse with her, Ask'd her if she did not hear that he was to be Hang'd, for not discovering the Plot against his Majesty, for that He the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had taken the Examination of one Otes and one Tong, touching

touching the same, the 6th day of September; and had not Discover'd it to any Person living; whereupon this Enformant asked the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey why he had not acquainted the Duke of York, or the Lord Chancellor, or the Lord Treasurer with the same; and Then This Enformant told the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; that she Suppos'd that what he then said was but in Jest, touching his being Hang'd; Whereupon he reply'd, that he had not told Sir William Jones thereof, although he had been at the said Sir William Jones his House Several times since; and then told this Enformant, that the King and Council knew of the Plot, before his Majesty went to Windsor, which was about a Month before he took the said Examination. Whereupon this Enformant ask'd him if he thought there was Really any Plot intended against his Majesty? To which he reply'd, that surely there Was, but that Otes had Sworn Somewhat more, then was True, and therefore the Papists would find so much favour as to have All things that Otes had Sworn, to be thought Lyes, and Then This Deponents Brother, Coll: Rooke, came into the Room, and then the said Sir Edmundbury Godfrey took his Leave of This Enformant, saying, that he was to Go to the Lord Chief Justice about Bus'ness, and said that he would Call on This Enformant some other Time, and Tell her More: and Since That Time she hath not seen Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; and farther saith not

Jo. Cowper
Coroner:

Mary Gibbon:

There will be no great need of a Key to uncypher This Mystery, if the Reader shall but duly Consider the Matter before him, upon Comparing other Enformations of Mrs. Gibbons, with This before the Coroner. There's One that Speaks, Almost peculiarly, to This

Subject; and *Another*, that's more *General*, and at *Large*; but I shall take so much of 'em as is for the Present purpose, and Begin with the Former.

Mary Gibbon Senior Deposeth, *That she this Enformant being Interrogated about the Occasion, the Time, and the Subject Matter of the Enformation she Deliver'd to Mr. Cowper, one of the Middlesex Coroners, concerning Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, Answereth as hereafter Follows, to the Best of her Knowledge and Memory.*

That upon the next Sunday after the finding of the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, the Coroners Inquest having Already Deliver'd up their Verdict; the said Mr. Cowper came to This Enformant at her House in Old Southampton Buildings in the Afternoon, and spake to this Enformant to this Effect. Mrs. Gibbon, I come from My Lord Chancellors to take Your Examination, and you are to tell me upon Oath when you saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Last, and what he Said to You.

This Enformant told him, that the said Sir Edmund came to her House in a very strange Manner, upon Tuesday last was Senight, in a Discontented, Melancholique Humor as ever This Enformant Observ'd in Any Body: He took This Enformant into a Chamber Alone, Bolted the Door, Asked This Enformant if she heard the News, for it was All over the Town that he was to be Hang'd. This Enformant being in a Great Trouble and Amazement at This Language, and Behaviour, said Something to him to This Effect, The Lord Bless us, Sir What d'ye Mean? For What? Whereupon, the said Sir Edmund told This Enformant, that he had Taken Otes and Tong's Enformations, and kept'em a Month by him without Discovery, but that Otes had Forsworn Himself.

This

This Enformant saith in short, that she told the said Coroner the Story of Sir Edmunds Distracted Manner of Behaviour, in all the Considerable Passages, as she had formerly Deliver'd them to Sir Leoline Jenkins.

And This Enformant being further Interrogated, Whether she thought the said Sir Edmund was in Jest or in Earnest? Or if there was any thing said of the Papists being in favour; And what Questions the Coroner Ask'd her concerning Sir Edmunds Melancholy.

She this Enformant maketh Answer, That she was so far from thinking he Jest'd, that his Way of Behaviour Frighted her, as the very Relation of it Frighted the Brothers but the Munday before: Whereof This Enformant gave a Particular Account to the said Coroner. And that This Enformant remembreth No Discourse at All of the Papists being in favour; and Moreover, that the said Coroner put No further Questions to This Enformant, about Sir Edmunds Melancholy, then a General Question, In what Humour he was, without shewing Any Particular Desire to be Enform'd That Way; but Repeating to This Enformant, that His Order was to Examine her concerning what Sir Edmundbury Godfrey Said to her: the said Coroner Writing all the While that This Enformant was Under Examination.

This Enformant being likewise Asked Whether or No she Sign'd the said Enformation taken by Mr. Cowper? She maketh Answer, that she remembreth that she was alone in the Parlour with Mr. Cowper, and that she had not her Spectales Below; her Mother being Just a dying in the same House; and she her self in Great Distraction. To the Best of her Memory, she This Enformant, being in Confusion, did not Read it, but upon the Coroners Reading of it that she Set her Hand to't.

This Enformant being also Asked if any Questions were put to her about the Manner of his Death, she This Enformant doth not remember any Questions that Pointed

That Way. But saith, That since the Heat, and the Talk of this Business was over, This Enformant went one Day with one Mrs. Cross, and the Widow of Mr. Green that Suffer'd, to the White-house; This Enformants Husband being also in the Company, to see the Place where Sir Edmunds Body was found, and agreed beforehand to Ask the Woman of the House some Questions by the By to find what she thought of the Matter. This Enformant said, to the Woman of the House, in Discourse, What! You have had a Justice Murder'd here hard by, by the Papists. To which the said Woman made Answer to This Effect, Do not you Deceive your Self! I believe he rather Murder'd Himself; How should the Bloud follow the Sword else, when it fell upon the Grass? And then when he was laid upon My Table, The Bloud ran down through the Floor upon the Bottles in the Cellar.

This Enformant well remembreth, that on the Next Day after the Body was brought home, a Gentlewoman, that is a Near Relation to That Family, and Tet Living, call'd upon This Enformant to go along with her, to see how Sir Edmund had been Murder'd by the Papists: And they took This Enformants Daughter Mary along with them; the said Gentlewoman saying, You may see here by the Wax that he was Murder'd in a House; Whereupon This Enformants Daughter, with her Thumb, Phillip't-it-off, and shew'd her that it was only Dirt.

Upon Comparing These Two Enformations, The Coroners will be found to be only the Shell of the other. That is to say, a Body may see the same Lines and Traces in't; but it Carries Quite Another Countenance. Upon Discourse with her, (says Mr. Comper) he ask'd, &c. as if it had been a Question that fell in by the By, as who should say [Now I think on't, or so] Whereas Mrs. Gibbon tells us of his taking her Alone,
Bolting

Bolting the Door; His being in much *Trouble* and *Disorder*; and then Asking her the *Question*, and telling her what an *Uproar* the *Whole Town* was in about it: which First makes it more then a *Jesting Matter*, (as the *Coroner* Seems to take it) and Then shews that the venting of his *Mind* was the *Chief Bus'ness* of the *Visit*. But can Any Man Imagine that *Mrs. Gibbon* should take the *Passion* it Self from the *Life*, to be but in *jest*, when the *Bare Story* of it scar'd the *Two Brothers* well Nigh out of their *Wits*? Why, *Mrs. Gibbon* must have been the *Madder* of the *Two*, to tell the *Coroner* how much she was *Amaz'd* at the *Extravagance*, and how the *Brothers* were *Transported* almost out of *Themselves* upon the *Hearing* of it, and yet at the same *Time*, that she took all but for *Fooling*: But the *Coroners Enformation* Takes a *Singular Care* all this while, either to *Mince*, or to *Suppress* whatever comes in his *Way*, that is not for his *Purpose*. *Otes*, he says, *had Sworn somewhat More then was True*; And that therefore the *Papists* would find so much *favour* as to have *All his Stories* taken for *Lyes*. Now This is a *Passage* that *Skews* toward the *Colouring* of the *Pretended Plot*, whereas the *Other* makes No *Bones* of Saying that *Otes* *Forswore Himself*, and *Utterly Denies* any Such *Mention* of the *Papists*. And the *Plot* would come to *Nothing*. In the *Coroners Enformation*, *Sir Godfrey* goes his *Way*, Promises to come again, and tell her more, but that she never *Saw* him *afterward*. Now the other, as it refers to *Another Enformation* deliver'd to *Mr. Secretary Jenkins*, gives to *Understand* that he *Did* come again, and went away in a *Freak*: So that in fine, the *Coroners Enformation*, as it is drawn, is only the *Carcass* of the *Discourse*, without any *Soul* or *Meaning*. And there's Not *One Word* Neither, of the *Account Mrs. Gibbon* gave of his very *Ill Humour*, and *Disorder*. We shall go forward now to her *Depositions* before the *Secretary*.

Mary the Wife of Captain Thomas Gibbon Depoeth, That there was a Long and Particular Intimacy and Friendship betwixt the Two Families of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey and This Enformant; And that the said Sir Edmund made her frequent Visits at her House in Old Southampton Buildings; Acquainting her Many times with Things that Troubled him; and for some time before his Death, he came to her, at least, once a Week, and upon the Tuesday was Senight, before the Saturday when he went Last away from his House, he came to This Enformants, and desired to Speak with her alone; she being then in her Mothers Chamber with her Husband and her Brother (Coll. William Rook) her Mother lying at That Time upon her Death Bed, she went with Sir Edmund into Another Chamber, when being Enter'd, the said Sir Edmund Bolted the Door, and appearing to be much Troubled, and out of Order: Ask'd her if she had not heard that he was to be Hang'd, for (says he) All the Town is in an Uproar about me. Then she Ask'd him for what? To which he replied, That he having taken Otes's and Tongs Examinations, a Month ago, and though he had been often at Dinner Since at My Lord Chancellors, and Sir William Jones's, Yet he never had Discover'd the Plot they had Sworn to; she ask'd him, what Plot? And he said, That Otes had forsworn himself, and it would come to Nothing. Just upon This, Coll. Rook Call'd the Enformant away, and thereupon Sir Edmund went his Way too; telling her at Parting, that he would come to her again the Next Day, and would tell her more. Sir Edmund came accordingly, when the Enformant being Bareheaded, told him she would wait upon him Immediately, but before she could put on her Hood, and come back, he was gone his way. He sent to the Enformant in the Last Week when he went away, (to the Best of her Memory,) to come to him; but her Mother
being

being Dying, she could not Leave her : but the Enformant however order'd her Daughter to go to him Early upon Saturday Morning, and Invite him to Dinner : who brought word back that she was there by Eight, but Pamphlin told her he was gone out an hour before.

We are now got over the Question of the *Means*, and the *Witnesses* that the Coroner had before him ; the *Competency* of Those *Means*, and how far they were *Improv'd* toward the *Clearing* of the *Truth*. The *Next* and *Last Point* will be, to Enquire, Whether there were not as Good *Witnesses* left out, or perhaps Better, and More Likely to Bolt out the *Truth*, then any of Those that were Taken in, saving Harry Moor only, who though Qualifi'd by his *Station*, and *Employment*, for a *Probability* of knowing More then Another Man, was Yet so Cramp'd by Restraining his *Evidence* to the *Nonsensical Question* of his Masters Lac'd Band, that he was as good as No *Witness* at All.

There are Certain Main Points, that in a Course of Reason, and Method, are properly to be taken into Consideration upon the Matter that we have now before us. First, What was the Question ? Secondly, What were the Points Necessary to be Known, toward the resolving of That Question ? Thirdly, What Sort of Men were the Most Likely to give Light to a Resolution upon it ? Fourthly, Who were the Persons that to the Certain Knowledge, or Reasonable Presumption of the Brothers, or of the Coroner, were able to Speak Effectually to This Matter ? And so by Degrees, were Those People Summon'd to give Evidence ? Or if not, Why was it Omitted ?

To the First Point, *Felo de se*, or Not ? was the Question. Secondly, Was there Any *Bloud* follow'd the *Sword* ? If so, 'tis Concluded that he Dy'd of the *Wound* : And not of *Suffocation*. Was he in Any

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ger; In any *Fear*, either of *Others*, or of *Himself*? Had he any *Quarrel*, or any *Desperate Melancholy* upon him? Thirdly, As I have said Formerly, his *Domestiques*, his *Relations*, his *Familiar Friends* and *Acquaintance*, and other *Chance-Witnesses*, that either out of *Curiosity*, or by *Accident*, came to the *Knowledge*, and *Observation* of any thing concerning him by the *By*. These were the *Men*, in *General*, that were properly to be *Examin'd*. And then *Fourthly*, in *Particular*, as to the *Persons*, who but *Mrs. Gibbons* in the *First Place*? a *Person* to whom the whole *Family* apply'd themselves in *Private* for *Enformation*. The *Person* that they desir'd would *Speak Sparingly*, when she came to be *Examin'd*. The *Person* that told the *Brothers* such a *Story* of him, the *Fourth Day* before the *Body* was found, as Manifestly gave them a *Foreboding* of what was become of him. The *Brothers* were at their *Wits End* for fear of his *Desperate Melancholy*; An *Apprehension* that was *Nothing a-kin* to the *Dread* of a *Violence* from any *Other Hand*. The *Brothers* knew well enough the *Impression* that the *Conceit* of his *Father's Melancholy* had upon him; and that *Captain Gibbon* and the *Daughters* of the *Family*, were *Privy* to *Several Fits* of his *Distemper*: And what *Opinion*, *Colonel Welden*, and his own *Servants* had, of his *Deep*, and *Inconsolable Discontents*. The *Brothers* had all along the *Secret History* of *Moor's Discoveries*, and *Intelligences*; *Contingent Evidences*, and *Enformations*, over and above. There was not *One*, in fine, of *These Persons Summon'd*; And I cannot find any *One Reason* in the *World* for the *Omission*; but what I am very *Unwilling* to *Believe*, That is to say, the *Smothering* of the *Truth*; for the *Managers*, I perceive, have *Industriously* either *Avoided*, or *Disguised* the *Two Certain Ways* of *Deciding This Question*. *First*, The *Discovery* of the *Bloud*, which is already made *Manifest* as the *Light*. 2^{ly}. There has

has not been so much as *One Question* put about his *Melancholy*, on the *One Hand*; Nor *One Syllable* of *Enforcement* concerning that *Melancholy* that has not been *Discountenanced*; And (if not *Punished*) at Least, *Ridicul'd*, on the *Other*. Now to *Conclude*, If *These Two Points*, well-prov'd, would have brought it to a *Clear Issue*; it is, *beyond all Controversie*, that the *Bloud* has been *made out* past *Contradiction* already; and that what *These People* could have said, to the *Evidencing* of a deep, and a dangerous *Discontent*, would have as *Amplly* made out the *Other*: *These Things* they did *Certainly KNOW*, and *Would not Know*; and *This* was the *Blindness*, undoubtedly, of those that *Would Not see*.

I have here *Discharged* my *Conscience*, and my *Duty*, with a most *Affectionate*, and *Impartial* *Respect* to *Truth*, and *Justice*; And I have done it according to the *Best* of my *Skill*, and *Understanding*; without *Gratifying* any *Passion*, or *Interest*; and without *Leaning* either to the *Right Hand*, or to the *Left*; as I shall *Answer* for't at the *Last Day*.

The *Two Main Points* in the *Case* of *This Discourse*, are *These*: *First*, Was *Sir E. B. Godfrey Murther'd* at *Somerset-House*, according to the *Evidence* of *Bedloe* and *Prance*, or was he *Not*? Whoever *says*, or *thinks* he *Was*, must *Remove Forty Contradictions* and *Impossibilities* out of the way, before any *Man* can pretend to *Believe* it. If he was *Not*, there's the *Bloud* of *Three Innocent Men* to *Answer* for, that was *Shed* upon *That Perjury*. Now if he *Was* again, There's the *King*, the *Queen Consort*, that then was, and now *Queen Dowager*, the *Lord Bellassis*, &c. *These* were All *Expressly* in't; but then by *Complication*, and *Confederacy*: Whoever was in the *Plot*, was more or less a *Friend* to the *Murther*; And *Bedloe Swears* that *Every considerable Papist* in *England* was under an *Oath of Secrecy* to

Conceal it. But once again now; If he was *Not Murther'd* there, as they swore he *Was*; What *Reparation* for the *Honour* of so many *Illustrious Names* as will be deliver'd over to *After-Ages* in *Depositions*, *Journals*, and other *Records*, under the *Blot* of *This Infamy*?

To Obviate *These Two Questions*, I have Divided This Tract into *Two Parts*. In the *Former*, the *Forgery* is layd so *Open*, that I dare *Defie* the *History* of the whole *World*, to produce *Any One Cause*, where-ever a *False Oath* Impos'd an *Abuse* upon a *Court of Justice*, which was *Afterward* so *Unanswerably Disprov'd*, and by so many *several Ways*. The *First Part*, in short, Discharges *Somerset-House* of the *Murther*. The *Question* of the *Second*, is, *Felo de se*, or *Not*? And if *Sir William Jones's* [*Circumstances*] and [*Concurrent Testimonies*.] *Greens Tryal*, pag. 72. may but pass for as *Good Evidence* on the *Behalf* of *Truth*, as for the *Support* of an *Imposture*, the *Felo de se* is much clearer in *This Case*, then the *Popish Murther* was in the *Other*.

I have not pass'd over *Any Thing* hitherto, that I found worth a *Notice*; but in regard that *Men* that have *Least* to say, are apt to make the *Most* of a *Little*; and that there are yet remaining *Untouch'd* some *Popular Stories*, that have obtained among the *Multitude*: I shall Subjoyn an *Appendix*, upon *Those Points* to what I have said *Already*, and so *Conclude*.

A P P E N D I X.

PRANCE's *History* of the *Merry-meeting* at the *Queen's-Head* at *Bow*, where was *Lauson*, *Vernatti*, *Girald*, *Detbick*, and *Himself*, is a *Sham* of the same *Batch* with the rest of his *Works*; and the *Perjury* confess'd. *Mr. Vernatti* has *Fairly* and *Legally* *Acquitted* Him-

Himself; and Mr. Dethick has been pleas'd to give the Following Account of That Days Meeting, Sign'd with his own Hand.

The Attestation of George Dethick Esq; about the Meeting of the Pretended Plotters at Bow.

THAT about the Seventh day of November 1678. One Mr. Vernatti sent a Note for me, desiring my Company at the Queens Head-Tavern at Bow, where accordingly I came and found there Mr. Vernatti, Mr. Lewson, and One Other Person, which since I have been Enformed was Mr. Miles Prance, and no body else, Except the Master of the House, who came to us, where we Dined. And I do well remember that Prance a little before Dinner had some Discourse with the Drawer for Standing at the Door, at which I was somewhat concern'd, and being a Stranger to Prance, told him we had No Bus'ness that we Cared who knew, and that I was well known to the Master of the House; upon which I Opened the Door, and so it remained all the while we remained there: during which time, there was not a Paper read, or account given of any Matter relating to the Murther of Sir Edmund Godfrey; nor so much as his Name Mentioned, to the Best of my Remembrance; but I do remember there were some Verses Written and Read, by Mr. Vernatti, but what they were I cannot possibly say.

Likewise to the Best of my Remembrance I never saw Mr. Miles Prance either before, or since That Time.

George Dethick.

There was a Great Talk in Those Days too, about one Jennings, a Cow-keeper, that was Taken up, and Charg'd for Advising Bromwel, Walters, and Rawson, that first found the Body, to take no further Notice of it, but rather let some body else find it out; for nothing would
Z come

come of it but Trouble. It appears upon the Depositions of the Three Persons above Named, that Jennings did speak VWords to that Effect ; and Jennings himself owns the speaking of the VWords ; but Deposeth withal, as followeth.

Edward Jennings Deposeth, That he had never seen nor heard of that Body before they told him of it. And saith, That in the Spring following he was committed to New Prison upon the Oath of his Wife, that he brought home a Band, and said it was the Band of Sir E. Godfrey. He continued a Pris'ner there, a Month, within Two Days, to the best of his Remembrance. And saith, That the Under-keeper of the said Prison told him, that among other Persons that came there to him, there was one of the Brothers of the said Sir Edmund, Prance, and Otes.

There went a Hot Report of Cattle taken away from him, and of the Bus'ness being made up, and his Cattle Restor'd again, no body knew how. I have met with many sober People that laid a great Stress upon This Story ; but, for my own Part, I could never find any thing in't to build upon.

The Staffordshire Letter of Intelligence about the Death of Sir E. B. Godfrey, made a mighty Noise in the Tryal of the Jesuits, and of my Lord Stafford : Inso-much, that Challenges were made to all the Papists in England to wipe off that Evidence : and the Weight, effectually, of the whole Cause was thrown upon that Issue. Mr. Evers (as Dugdale Swears) received a Letter from London at Tixhall upon Monday, Octob. 14. 1678. bearing Date, Saturday the 12th. with These Words in't, [This Night Sir E. B. G. is Dispatch'd.] Lord Staffords Tryal, fol. 22. And this Evidence was Back'd by several other Testimonies, 134, 135, 136, & 137. of the said Tryal : And so likewise in the Tryal of the Five Jesuits. Now the Force of the Inference was

was This: The Body was not found till Thursday the 17th. And how should any Man that was not privy to the Murther, give such an Account of it upon Saturday the 12th? For they had the News of it in Staffordshire upon the Monday. I shall only Refer the Reader to the Sixth Chapter of this Second Part, 199. for a Full, and Final Answer, where he shall find a Report Raised, and Industriously spread on the very Saturday Sir Edmund went away upon; that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Murther'd by the Papists; so that the Saturdays-Post might well carry the News into Staffordshire by Monday. There was Notable Clashing, I remember, about the Credit of the Staffordshire Evidence, that was given upon This Point: But if the Rumour was so Rife about the Town upon the Saturday, 'tis All a Case to me, whether they had it in Staffordshire, or Not; for if they had it Not, they might have had it; which is the same Thing as to the Reason of the Case, though not to the Truth of the Fact.

The Drops of Wax upon the Cloaths, and Stockings, which Elizabeth Curtis (or Draper) swears to, are never the more Credible for her Testimony; because we have already prov'd her to be Forsworn; both by Judith Pamphlin, and Avis Warriar, in the Bus'ness of Green and Hill, cap. 13. And another Falsity out of her own Mouth, about Greens speaking First French, and Afterwards English in the Council-Chamber-Deposition; and First English, and Afterwards French, at the Tryal. See the same Chapter, p. 152. And She's little better then Forsworn again, in delivering her Evidence upon Oath, as the Servant of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; which she never was; neither was it fair to set her up for a Witness, in the Quality of Sir Edmund's Servant, by Those that knew she never was so. Not but that there might be Drops of Wax too, but how they came There, will be the Question; for when Mrs.

Gibbon and her *Daughter*, together with a *Kinswoman* of *Sir Edmunds*, were to see the *Body* in *Hartshorn-Lane*, the *Day* after it was brought home; the pretended *Drops* of *Wax* upon the *Filliping*, were found to be only *Dirt*, as is already set forth in the *Last Chapter*. And after this *Disappointment*, if there had been any such *Drops*, they would undoubtedly have been found out. But this *Mistake* might put it in their *Heads* perhaps, to bestow the *Drippings* of a *Wax-Candle* here and there about him, as they saw convenient; for the *Wax* upon his *Cloths* (as *Proofs* went then-a-days) made a very *Substantial* *Corroborating Argument* of the *Body's* being layd under the *Altar*. But *Wax*, or *No Wax*, comes all to a *Point*, if the *main Cause* be Detected for a *Sham*; for the *Somerset-house-murther*, and the *Somerset-house-wax* are *Fillip'd off Both together*; and it was for the *Tapers* sake undoubtedly, that this *Sham* was *Contriv'd*. I shall now take Notice of some of their *Extraordinary Affidavits*, which, how *Unconcluding* soever, pass'd for *Matters of Moment* yet with the *Common People*.

Nathaniel Thompson, &c. were Try'd at *Guild-hall*, on *Tuesday, June 24. 1682.* upon an *Enformation*, for *Writing, Printing, and Publishing Libels*, by way of *Letters, and other Prints, Reflecting upon the Justice of the Nation in the Proceedings against the Murtherers of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*; and they were found *Guilty of the Enformation*.

Upon the *3d. of July, 1682.* (according to the *Licens'd Tryal*) *Thompson, &c.* were brought up by *Rule* to the *Bar* of the *Court of Kings-Bench*, to receive their *Judgment*; upon which *3d. day of July* an *Affidavit* of *Richard Spence* was read, bearing *Date* the *10th. of the same July*. (Whether this was the *Printers*, or the *Compilers* *Mistake*, it does not much matter.) But the short of the *Enformation* is This.

That

That *Passing by the Water-gate of Somerset-House,*
October 10. 1678. about Seven at Night, there were Five
or Six Men standing together there, who laid hold of this
Deponent as he was passing by them; and they taking hold of
both this Deponents Arms, Dragg'd him down about a Yard
within the Water-gate of Somerset-House, it being dark;
but one of the said Men, which this Deponent believes to
have been Hill (for that this Deponent knew Hill very well,
as also his Master Dr. Godden) Cry'd out, and said, This
is not He; upon which, they immediately let this Deponent go.

Jurat' 10. July 1682.

Richard Spence.

coram me

VV. Dolben.

Mr. Spence, 'tis true, did probably know *Hill* and his
Master, as we shall see farther by and by. But in the
mean Time, 'tis Remarkable, that he has Pitch'd upon
Prance's Just Number of Murtherers, (Six;) *Prance's*
Water-gate; and that *These* *Russians* should Seize a Man
so like *Sir E. B. Godfrey* for *Sir E. B. Godfrey*, when 'twas
so Dark, they could hardly know One Face from Ano-
ther. If he had but call'd out for *Help*, they had cer-
tainly been Taken (unless we shall suppose that *They*
only could see the *Man*, and No Body else See *Them*.)
'Twas a strange Thing, that No Place but *Somerset-*
House-Water-Gate, could serve for the *Surprize*. But
to be Short, and to make the *Most* on't; Here was
One Man taken for Another; Seiz'd, and let go again;
and This Man, for the Purpose, Like *Sir Edmundbury*
Godfrey (though I am told otherwise:) And what's the
Inference at last now, but that *These* Men were either
Bedloe's, or *Prance's* Assassins, that lay upon the Catch
there for *Godfrey*? Where was This Evidence of Mr.
Spence's at *Green's* Tryal: Or how came it Now to be
Bolted, upon This Occasion?

There was a Little Affair at That Time in hand, about the Lease of a House, which Mr. Spence had for a Term of Years in Trust from Mrs. Broadstreet. There was some *Arriere* Incurr'd, and a Prosecution upon it for the *Money*; And while This Dispute was a-foot, the Story of Mr. Spence's being lay'd hold of, and dragg'd into Somersfet-House, came to Light: I shall look no further into't; for the Further, the *Widow*.

Mr. Spence's Affidavit, is follow'd with Another of John Okeley, the Servant of Robert Breedon, of Hartshorn-Lane, who maketh Oath, That upon Saturday, October 12. 1678. going homewards to his Master Breedons House, coming by Somersfet-House in the Strand; when he came near the Gate of that House, which leads down to the Water-side, commonly call'd the Water-gate, about Nine at Night, he there saw Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and passed close by him, and put off his Hat to him; and Sir E. B. Godfrey put off his Hat again to Him; and after that the Deponent had passed beyond Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, He the Deponent turned about, and looked upon him again, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey stood still, and there was a Man or Two near Sir Edmund.

This Affidavit was Sworn, June 22. before the Lord Mayor; and sworn to again the 1st. of July, 1682. before Judge Dolben, and is left Fil'd up in the Crown-Office. Thompsons Tryal, 33, 34, 35.

After These, there follows an Appendix, containing several Other Affidavits, in Further Confirmation (as is Pretended) of the Testimony of Mr. Miles Prance.

Harry Moor Swears, That the Report of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey's Hanging Himself, and of Moors saying, that He cut him down, is utterly False. Tryal, p. 41.

And

And after This follows Another Enformation, of Justice Baalam, that the Above-written Affidavit is True. *Ibid.* June 28. 1681.

Elizabeth Dekin Swears, That her Fellow-Servant John Oakley told her, while Sir Edmund was Missing, of his seeing Sir Edmund about Nine, That Saturday Night, near the Water-gate at Somerset-House.

Robert Breedon follows it with another Deposition, that Elizabeth Dekin told him, as above, what John Oakley said, June 22. 1682. p. 44.

Ralph Oakley Swears, That John Oakley told him of seeing Sir Edmundbury Godfrey as aforesaid, July 4. 1682. p. 45. And Robert Oakley, the Father of John, Deposeth, that his Son told him the same Story. *Ibid.*

Heres a Clutter of Six Affidavits to Two Points. The First Two to Moor's Purging himself of a Scandalous Report; The Other Four to John Oakley's saying that he saw Sir E. B. Godfrey. Moor's Point is nothing at all to the Present Business; and the Rest is only Hear-say, without Proof. 'Twas Dark, and what if Oakley mistook the Man? And Being Dark, 'twas a Wonder he should know him at all; Especially, following, and passing by him; and then, looking back again. It was a Mighty Lucky thing too, that Spence should be Dragged in by Six Men at the Water-Gate, on the Thursday, about Seven in the Evening, and that John Oakley should stumble upon him at the Water-gate too, about Nine on the Saturday; and that in Both Those Dark Nights, Both these Witnesses should have the Hap to See him at the same Place, and to know him. And how came John Oakley to take Notice that there was a Man or Two near Sir Edmund? What was That Circumstance to His Sto-

ry; when, at that Hour, it could hardly be *Other*; but it Nicks *Prance's Evidence* however; for there were the *Doggers*, and there was the *Water-Gate*; and That the Place of *Ambush*; though the *Dark Passage* into *Hartshorn-Lane* would have been a *Post* worth *Forty* on't, for That Purpose.

Benjamin *Man* maketh Oath, That the Turn-key of the Gate-house, telling this Enformant that *Green* was Charg'd with the Murther of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey; the Deponent, Reading of it, Turn'd to Mr. *Green*, and said, I did not think to have found you such a Man; Whereupon *Green* Reply'd, [I am a Dead Man] or Words to That Purpose. Sworn July 3. 1682. Tryal, p. 47.

And what Difference in the Case of this Poor Creature, betwixt saying, *I am a Dead Man*; and saying, *There's no Fence for Perjury*. But the killing Affidavit is, That which follows.

Robert Fawcet of Marybone, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. maketh Oath; That Tuesday the 15th. of October, 1678. (being the Tuesday after that Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was Missing) he This Deponent was a Hunting with his Pack of Hounds at the very Place where the Body of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was afterwards found, and Beat that very Place with his Hounds, and the Body was not then there, nor any Gloves, nor Cane thereabout. The said Deponent further saith, That the same Day Mr. Henry Harwood requested Him This Deponent, that he would let him have his Hounds the next day after, being Wednesday, and he would find that Hare, which they could not find on Tuesday; or Words to that Purpose. And This Deponent further saith, That He the said Harwood hath several Times since Affirmed, That he did accordingly Hunt in the same Place, and Beat the same Ditch, and said, that the Body was not there That Wednesday at Noon, which said Henry Harwood is now Newly Dead. Jur. 1. die Julii, 1682. Robert Fawcet.
Coram me W. Dolben. To

To take the Matter now according to the *Fact*, as it is here *Deposed*. First, If the Huntsmen were on the *Wrong side of the Ditch*, the *Thicket of Busses and Brambles* was so *Close*, that it was *Morally Impossible* to see, either the *Body* or the *Gloves* where they lay. 2dly, Though a Man in This Case of the *Ditch*, may Allow the *Noses* of the *Doggs*, Compar'd with the *Tongues* of the *Witnesses*, that swore the *Murther* at *Somerfet-house*, to be much the more *Credible Evidence*; It would be a *Dangerous Conclusion* yet, to *Pronounce*, that the *Body* was *Not* there, because the *Doggs* did not *Find* it there; and to *Raise* an *Argument*, from That *Presumption*, of the *Bodies* *Not* being in the *Ditch*, that *Therefore* *Sir Edmund* was *Murther'd* at *Somerfet-house*. So that I shall very *Fairly Divide* the *Matter*; That it was likely enough they should have found the *Body*, but *Not Impossible* for 'em to *Miss* it; And according to *Common Course of speech*, the *Beating* of that very *Place* must be intended of That *Field*, or of That *Ditch* at *Large*; for it cannot be *Imagin'd*, that they *Hunted Every Inch of Ground within That Compass*: Or that when Men *Beat* to start a *Hare*, they stand *Poring* at every thing, as if they were looking for her in her *Form*. So that in the *Candour*, and *Equity of Construction*, [*There was not any Gloves nor Cane thereabouts*] must be *Intended*, and *Ought* to be *Taken* No otherwise, then with This *Qualification*; That is to say, *We were a Hunting and Beating upon That Place, upon Tuesday, and there was No Dead Body, Gloves, or Cane, that we saw*. For such a *Negative* amounts only to a *Presumption*. And whether shall we rather *Believe* now; the *Doggs* that did *Not* see him there, upon *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*; or *Baker*, that swore *He saw him hard By* there, upon *Saturday* in the *Afternoon*, or the *Devil in his Cloaths*. To say *Nothing* (more then is said already p. 175. 176.) of *Mr. Huys*.

Physician's, and *Mr. Grundy's* Observations upon a Person *faustring* in Those Fields on Saturday Afternoon, in All Points Answering the Description of *Sir Edmundbury Godfrey*. There was a Discovery made, 'tis True, of a dead Body in a Wood near High-Gate, in February 1686. by the very *Doggs* (as I remember) of This *Mr. Fawcet*; But as they Chopt upon it at Last: So they *Mis'd* it for at least Six Weeks before, after many and many a Time Beating the same Wood.

This Enformation of *Mr. Fawcet* bears Date the 1. of July, 1682. And 'tis a Wonder that No Publique Notice was taken on't sooner, either before the *Coroner*, or at *Green's Tryal*; for *Mr. Fawcet* was in Commission of the Peace, and Liv'd in the same Parish, saw the Body at the *White-house*, and had the Curiosity to View the Place where it was Found; Nay he Discours'd the Bus'ness of his *Dogs*, upon That Occasion; As I have it upon the Oath of a very *Honest Gentleman*.

Mr. VWilliam Collinson Deposeth, That being at the *White-house* upon Friday-morning, the Day after *Sir Edmund's* Body was found, while the Body lay upon the Table there; the Woman of the said House, said to This Enformant [There's One of them that Help'd to bring him up:] Pointing to the said Person. One *Mr. Fawcet* being then come into the Room, spake to That Person to shew him the Place where the said Body was found: and so they went down together, and This Enformant along with them: The Guide shewing the Place, where, and Describing in What Posture the Body Lay, after This Manner. The Body lay (as the Guide told the Company) with his Head Low, and towards the High Bank, with his Heels turn'd up against the other, His Coat Unbutton'd, and his Shirt put aside; and the Sword came a Good way thorough him about the Shoulder-blade.

Upon

Upon sight of a Considerable Quantity of Blood, that lay some Yards from the Ditch, Mr. Fawcet Asked how That Blood came there? The Guide before spoken of, said, that the Sword was taken out there, and the Blood Follow'd it: Mr. Fawcet Wondring at it; Asked, Why they Meddled with the Body, before the Coroner came? To which the Man Answer'd, they made a Great Bustle about it; and we could not Carry the Body without taking out the Sword. Mr. Fawcet said also, 'Tis strange, that being Hunting about These Grounds, we should make No Discovery of the Body.

It will be Time now to look back upon what I have Written; To Compare the Evidences, Likelyhoods, Appearances, and Pretences, of the One side, with Those of the Other; To Examine the Good Faith, and the Fair Dealing, on Both Hands; And in fine, upon a Summary Review of the Whole, to Wind up my Matters in as Few Words as I can.

In the Former Part of This Discourse, the First Chapter is a Bare Narrative of Godfrey's coming to a Violent Death; and Bedloes and Prances setting-up for the Discoverers of the Murder. 2dly, Why, and How, they made a Plot on't. 3dly, And Swore to't. 4. How the Plot and the Murder were Incorporated. 5. The Clashing of the Witnesses. 6. Bedloes Inconsistency with Himself. 7. The Taking-up, and the Manage of Prance. 8. Prance's secret History, and Usage, for Thirteen Days, wherein he Renoun'd to any Knowledge, either of the Plot, or the Murder, (according to his First Evidence). 9. How he went off again. 10. How People were Us'd; to Encourage False, and to Discourage Honest Witnesses. 11. & 12. Notes upon Bedloes, and Prance's Evidence, and upon their Character. 13. Their Depositions, Impossible to be True. 14. The story of
Somer.

Somerset-house, and of the *Ditch*, never to be *Reconcil'd*.
 15. *No Plot, No Murther*; The *One* being Founded
 upon the *Other*.

Now laying all This together; That is to say, The
Sham of the making a *Plot* on't; The *Flagitious Improbability* of the *Witnesses*, Their *Contradictions* to *Themselves*,
 and to *One Another*; Their *Evidence* in the several
Parts of it, neither *Likely, Credible*, nor so much as
Possible; The *Notorious*, and the *Infamous Practice* of
Countenancing Impostures, and of *smothering the Truth*;
 They might as well have *Charg'd Prance* with the
Murther of Abel; or *Cain* with the *Pillows*, or the
Crevats at *Somerset-house*: and the *One* would have been
 just as *Competent a Testimony* as the *Other*. That is to
 say; as the *Other* would *Now* appear to be, after the
Revelation of That Part of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, that
 lay in the *Dark, Before*.

After the *Proofs* made out in the *First Part*, that
Bedloe's and *Prance's History* of the *Somerset-house Mur-*
ther, was only a *Ridiculous*, and a *Malicious Fiction*; the
 Main scope of the *second Part* is little more then *Deliberative*, in what *Manner*, and *Place*; and by what
Means and *Hand* he came to his *End*: VVherein, I have
 first *Sir William Jones's Opinion* to *justify* me in the *Law*,
 and *Equity* of my *Reasonings*, and *Conclusions*. 2dly, I
 prove *Sir Edmund's Dismal Melancholy That Saturday*,
 when he left his *House*. 3dly, VVhat *Others* thought
 of it. 4thly, VVhat *He Himself* Thought of it *before*
he went away. 5thly, VVhat his *Friends* thought was
 become of him, when he was *Missing*. 6thly, They
 would have him *Murther'd* by *Papists*, before he was
Dead. 7. The *Care* taken to *Conceal* his *Death*, in-
 stead of *finding it out*. From 8. to 15. How the *Inquest*
 was *Labour'd*, upon *Points Clear from the Matter*; and
 All *Necessary Enquiries*, so far as *Possible*, *set aside*. 15.

16. 17. 18. 20. Not One Word in the Coroner's Enfor-
mations to the Proper Subject of the Enquiry. 19. The
Opening of the Body Order'd, but Oppos'd and Rejected
though a Certain Means of Discovering the Truth.

So that upon the whole Matter at last, we have here
Sir Edmund's Confession of his Own Melancholy, and his
Dread of it; the Opinion of his Friends, Relations, and
Servants; The Ground, and the Reason of his Fears laid
Open; Proofs of his Own Forebodings, both in Words,
and in Actions, Undenably made out: Charges of
Privacy given, to Hinder the Means of Discovering it.
Not One Creature Examined, that was likely to give any
Account of him; nor One Question put, and the An-
swer made use of, that any Man could be the Wiser
for. The Bus'ness of the Bloud, and of the Posture,
totally suppress'd; which would Infallibly have Clear'd
the Point of his Dying by the Sword; And Nothing
Oppos'd, on the Other side, to Ballance This Harmony
of Evidences, Reasonings, and Presumptions; but the Lim-
berness, and the Distortion of the Neck, which every
Nurse, and Searcher, could have told them was a
Common Accident in Cases of a Natural Death.

FOR the Further Service and Convenience of the Reader, I
shall here Subjoyn a Catalogue of the Principal Enformations,
Depositions, and Attestations that are made use of in This Book; by
way either of Evidence, Argument, or Illustration, toward an Evi-
dence of the Truth. For the sake of Clearness and Order, I shall Range
the Papers under Three Heads. The first Classis Containing an E-
numeration of All Those Depositions, and Testimonials which I have
here Produc'd, in favour of the Opinion, which I take upon me to
Defend. And these Original Papers, I have Deposited in the Paper-
Office, for the Satisfaction of Any Man that has a Curiosity to Learn
whether they be Authentique or not. Whether they are Truly Ren-
der'd, Pertinently Applied, or Competent to the Purpose they were
Intended for, let the Reader Judge. I have Lodged in the Second
place,

The Catalogue.

Place, the Enformations that were taken by the Coroner, upon the View of Sir Edmunds Body. And in the Third, I have given A Promiscuous Account of the several Depositions of Bedloe and France, with Other snatches of Evidences, that were Produc'd to support their Testimony: with References upon the Whole to the Page where they are to be found.

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